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THE 1990 ELECTIONS: Governors will control redistricting that could decide 25 seats in the House

A Democratic Tide in the Gubernatorial Contests Points to an Angry Electorate

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — Democrats unseated the Republican governor of Florida and won a hard-fought victory in Texas, but the Republicans captured the governorship of California, the biggest prize in the 1990 elections.

The 36 gubernatorial races were especially important this year because they will help to determine which party has the advantage in congressional redistricting. As many as 20 to 25 House seats could change parties through redistricting in California and Florida alone. That number is perhaps large enough to determine whether conservatives or liberals dominate in the next several years.

Senator Pete Wilson, a Republican, captured the governorship in California, the most populous state, narrowly defeating Diane Feinstein, the Democratic former mayor of San Francisco.

A Republican, George Voinovich, took the governorship from Democratic control in Ohio, defeating the state attorney general, Anthony Celebrezze Jr.

In Illinois, the victory of the secretary of state, Jim Edgar, kept the governorship in Republican hands. Mr. Edgar defeated Attorney General Neil Hartigan to succeed the four-term Republican governor, Jim Thompson.

In Massachusetts, the Republican William F. Weld came from behind to defeat the maverick Democrat John R. Silber, who has been on leave as president of Boston University.

Mr. Weld called his victory "a referendum on big government" and heavy taxes of the kind he said characterized the administration of the outgoing Democratic governor, Michael S. Dukakis.

"They've really been spending money on Beacon Hill like drunken sailors," Mr. Weld said Wednesday, "and that's why people went Republican."

In most gubernatorial races, however, the tide was Democratic.

Former Senator Lawton Chiles, a Democrat, defeated the one-term Republican governor, Bob Martinez, in Florida. Mr. Chiles's support for abortion rights appeared to help him against Mr. Martinez.

But Mr. Chiles gave credit to voter unhappiness with "government gridlock," and to a grassroots campaign that limited contributions to \$100 a person.

"I think it's a vote by people that know government today is not working," Mr. Chiles said.

In Texas, Ann Richards, the state treasurer,

defeated the oil millionaire Clayton Williams, whose campaign was marked by gaffes and an 11th-hour disclosure that he did not pay any federal income tax in 1986.

President George Bush campaigned heavily for both Mr. Martinez and Mr. Williams in the closing days of the campaign.

"To the degree that George Bush was a factor, he was a burden," said Ohio's retiring governor, Richard F. Celeste, head of the Democratic Governors' Association. "We have an opportunity to do what was inconceivable six months ago — that is, defeat a Republican president."

Larry Sabato, a University of Virginia political scientist, said the governors' races were not a referendum on Mr. Bush but had "major implications for him, his re-election race and his party."

"This has got to be a major disappointment for Bush and the Republicans," he said.

In Michigan, the Republican John Engler narrowly defeated the Democrat James J. Blanchard.

In Minnesota, Governor Rudy Perpich, a Democrat, lost in an upset to the Republican state auditor, Arne Carlson.

In Arizona, the millionaire Republican Fife Symington nursed a tiny lead over Terry Goddard, but the margin was so thin that election officials said a runoff was certain.

Oregon elected the Democratic secretary of state, Barbara Roberts, over Attorney General David Frohnmayer.

In Kansas, Treasurer Joan Finney unseated the Republican governor, Mike Hayden, even though her anti-abortion stance lost her the support of feminist groups.

In Nebraska, the Republican governor, Kay Orr, lost to the Democratic candidate, Ben Nelson.

Governor Robert P. Casey Jr., a Democrat, was a big winner in Pennsylvania against Auditor General Barbara Hafer, who had gone after him for signing two bills restricting abortions.

In Rhode Island, Governor Edward D. DiPrete, a Republican, was resoundingly defeated by Bruce G. Sundlun, Mr. DiPrete's governor since 1984, lost support when the state economy went into a steep decline.

In Vermont, where Governor Madeleine M. Kunin, a Democrat, is stepping down, voters returned her Republican predecessor, Richard Snelling, to office.

In New York, Governor Mario M. Cuomo, a potential Democratic presidential candidate for 1992, breezed to victory over the millionaire economist Pierre Rinfret, who alienated the Republican establishment with his attacks on fellow party members.

The former Republican senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr. was elected governor of Connecticut as an independent and said, "I hope we sent a message that dirt is out of politics in the state of Connecticut." He defeated two members of Congress, the Republican John G. Rowland and the Democrat Bruce A. Morrison.

Another longtime Republican, former Interior Secretary Walter Hickel, was elected governor as an independent in Alaska.

In Maine, the incumbent Republican John R. McKernan Jr. narrowly defeated the former Democratic governor, Joseph Brennan.

In Arkansas, the Democrat Bill Clinton, who has been governor for 10 of the last 12 years, was easily elected to another term over Sheffield Nelson, a first-time candidate.

In Colorado, the Democratic incumbent, Roy Romer, quickly put down a challenge from John Andrews, the founder of a conservative research organization.

Georgia's Democratic lieutenant governor,

Zell Miller, moved up to the governor's chair with an easy victory over John Isakson, Republican leader of the state legislature.

Iowa saw a Republican victory, with the incumbent, Terry E. Branstad, turning back the challenge of the state House speaker, Don Avenson. Mr. Avenson focused on Mr. Branstad's anti-abortion views.

The Republican incumbent, Judd Gregg, likewise survived in New Hampshire, defeating the former Democratic state chairman, J. Joseph Grandmaison.

In South Carolina, the Republican governor, Carroll A. Campbell Jr., defeated state Senator Thigo Mitchell, who is black.

Maryland's Democratic governor, William Donald Schaefer, was a runaway winner over William S. Shepard, a diplomat from a Washington suburb who chose his wife, Lois, as his running mate.

A Democrat, Bruce King, was elected governor of New Mexico for the third time, defeating a Republican businessman, Frank Bond. Mr. King previously won the office in 1970 and 1978.

David Walters, who was defeated four years ago in a bid for governor of Oklahoma, made it on his second try.

Democrats Push House Majority to 267

By Tom Kenworthy and Bill McAllister

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Democrats widened their 83-seat majority control of the House of Representatives and gave Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the second-ranking Republican leader, the scare of his political life in an election that was marked by the continued dominance of incumbents.

Illustrating the quirky nature of a volatile campaign season, Mr. Gingrich, one of the House's warriors of the right, fought for survival on the same night that Vermont voters elected the first avowed socialist to serve in the House since 1929.

Democrats were assured of a net gain of nine seats, strengthening their majority to 267 in the 435-member House and heightening their ability to override President George Bush's vetoes.

In addition, the election of a socialist who will line up with the Democrats for organizational purposes in effect gave them a majority of 268.

Republicans won 164 contests and led in the remaining three races. In those contests, two incumbent Democrats were trailing slightly, and the third battle was over an open seat held by a Republican who retired.

Although the Republican loss was well below the historic average of 27 for a party holding the White House in midterm elections, it left the party with its lowest House numbers since 1982.

House Democratic leaders applauded the results as evidence that voters accepted their stance on tax fairness and had identified the Republicans more as the party of the rich.

"The results are clear: George Bush cannot win the Congress and must no longer rule by veto," said the House majority leader, Richard A. Gephardt, Democrat of Missouri. "Next year, he must come to Capitol Hill with an action plan for reviving the economy and reworking the system to the benefit of working families."

The House speaker, Thomas S. Foley, Democrat of Washington, said a strengthened Democratic majority would carry a mandate to undertake "a serious review of our national health delivery system."

But the Republican House campaign chief, Ed Rollins, said he did not think either party should feel comfortable with the results.

"I don't think the anti-Washington mood ends today," Mr. Rollins said. "Even though a lot of incumbents are not being defeated, they're being scared. They're not getting the 60 percent margins they had two years ago."

Mr. Gingrich, the fiery conservative who led Republican opposition to the deficit-reduction agreement negotiated by President Bush, narrowly defeated his Democratic Party challenger, David Worley, a 32-year-old lawyer.

Mr. Worley, who lost to Mr. Gingrich in their first contest two years ago — 59 percent to 41 percent — was all but abandoned by

Democratic Party chieftains in this year's rematch.

But he capitalized on Mr. Gingrich's support of a congressional pay raise and the frustration of Eastern Airline workers who felt the Georgia Republican did not adequately support them in their prolonged strike against management.

In Vermont, a former Burlington mayor, Bernard Sanders, a socialist who said he would align himself with the House Democratic majority, unseated a freshman Republican Representative, Peter P. Smith.

Other Republican incumbents who lost were John P. Hiler of Indiana, defeated by a former Democratic congressional aide, Tim Roemer; Stanford E. Parrish of Virginia, beaten by the mayor of Alexandria, James P. Moran Jr.; and Bill Grant of Florida, defeated by Pete Peterson, a Democrat and former U.S. Air Force officer.

Democratic casualties included Roy Dyson of Maryland, defeated by a teacher, Wayne T. Gilchrest,

and Doug Walgren of Pennsylvania, who was denied an eighth term by Rick Santorum, a Republican lawyer from Pittsburgh.

The results were discouraging for House Republicans, who have not enjoyed majority status in the chamber since 1954, and who early in this congressional election cycle had set their sights on winning a dozen or more seats before heading into the crucial 1992 election that will follow redistricting based on the 1990 census.

The former Democratic representative, Ray Thornton, will return to the House after winning a seat vacated by Tommy F. Robinson, a Republican, in Arkansas.

One bright spot for the Republicans was the election of one black Republican, the first since 1932, and the possibility of electing a second, in Connecticut. Gary Franks, a Waterbury alderman and a Republican, was the winner against a former Democratic Representative, Toby Moffet, in a seat that had been Democratic.

Choices for Governor: Outcomes of Crucial Races for the Statehouses

ALABAMA

Hubbert, D. 99%
x-Hunt, R. (D) 630,473 - 48%

ALASKA

Knowles, D. 95% - Other Gain
Sturgis, R. 30,775 - 31%
x-Hickel, Other 44,156 - 27%
Sykes, Other 63,558 - 39%

ARIZONA

Goddard, D. 99%
Sundlun, R. 517,767 - 49%
Wilson, R. 322,394 - 50%
Witte, Other 10,104 - 1%

ARKANSAS

x-Clinton, D. 100%
Nelson, R. 388,597 - 57%
Nelson, R. 289,600 - 43%

CALIFORNIA

Feinstein, D. 99%
x-Wilson, R. 3,274,828 - 46%
McCreedy, Other 3,462,266 - 49%

COLORADO

x-Romer, D. 100%
Andrews, R. 625,057 - 63%
Andrews, R. 362,853 - 37%

CONNECTICUT

100% - Other Gain
Morrison, D. 332,856 - 20%
Rowland, R. 427,504 - 38%
x-Weicker, Other 460,119 - 40%
Zdonczyk, Other 16,729 - 1%

FLORIDA

x-Chiles, D. 100% Dem Gain
Martinez, R. 1,987,863 - 57%
Martinez, R. 1,524,313 - 43%

GEORGIA

x-Miller, D. 99%
Isakson, R. 766,130 - 53%
Isakson, R. 645,649 - 45%
Rand, Other 37,193 - 3%

HAWAII

100%

IDAHO

x-Walsh, D. (D) 203,491 - 61%
Hemmings, R. 131,310 - 39%

ILLINOIS

x-Andrus, D. 95%
Fairchild, R. 199,467 - 67%
Fairchild, R. 96,069 - 33%

IOWA

100%
Harrison, D. 1,538,189 - 48%
x-Edger, R. 1,635,368 - 52%

KANSAS

100% Dem Gain
x-Finney, D. 381,446 - 53%
Hayden, R. 332,234 - 47%

MAINE

100%
Brennan, D. 227,169 - 44%
x-McKernan, R. 240,263 - 47%
Adams, Other 47,672 - 9%

MARYLAND

100%
x-Schaefer, D. (D) 644,528 - 60%
Shepard, R. 435,361 - 40%

MASSACHUSETTS

99% - Rep Gain
Silber, D. 1,098,022 - 48%
x-Weld, R. 1,174,916 - 52%

MICHIGAN

100% Rep Gain
Blanchard, D. (D) 750,008 - 50%
x-Engler, R. 1,279,744 - 50%

MINNESOTA

97% - Rep Gain
Perpich, D. 750,008 - 50%
x-Carlson, R. 764,050 - 50%

NEBRASKA

100% Dem Gain
x-Nelson, D. 286,776 - 50%
Orr, R. 282,118 - 50%
Sullivan, Other 1,026 - 0%

NEVADA

100%
x-Miller, D. (D) 207,530 - 66%
Galloway, R. 95,619 - 31%
None of These, Other 8,998 - 3%

NEW HAMPSHIRE

100%
Grandmaison, D. 101,496 - 57%
x-Gregg, R. (D) 176,502 - 69%

NEW MEXICO

99% - Dem Gain
x-King, D. 223,526 - 54%
Bond, R. 187,549 - 46%

NEW YORK

99%
x-Cuomo, D. (D) 2,099,539 - 53%
Rinfret, R. 852,077 - 22%
London, Other 815,402 - 21%
Wain, Other 151,008 - 4%

OHIO

100% Rep Gain
Celebrezze Jr., D. 1,524,244 - 44%
x-Voinovich, R. 1,924,270 - 56%

OKLAHOMA

100% Dem Gain
x-Walters, D. 151,191 - 39%

OREGON

100% - Open
x-Roberts, D. 470,888 - 46%
Frohmayer, R. 403,785 - 39%
Oehler, Other 15,699 - 1%

PENNSYLVANIA

99% - Dem Gain
x-Casey, D. (D) 2,053,299 - 68%
Hafer, R. 967,649 - 32%

RHODE ISLAND

99% - Dem Gain
x-Sundlun, D. 256,507 - 74%
DiPrete, R. 88,519 - 26%

SOUTH CAROLINA

99%
Mitchell, D. 210,829 - 29%
x-Campbell, R. (D) 522,944 - 71%

SOUTH DAKOTA

100%
x-Mitchell, R. 151,191 - 39%

TENNESSEE

100%
x-McWhorter, D. (D) 476,996 - 62%
Henry, R. 286,668 - 38%

TEXAS

99% - Dem Gain
x-Richards, D. 1,916,673 - 51%
Williams, R. 1,818,281 - 49%

VERMONT

100% Rep Gain
Wick, D. 109,105 - 46%
x-Sandling, R. 105,193 - 52%
Adkins, Other 2,765 - 1%

WISCONSIN

100%
Lotus, D. 574,292 - 42%
x-Thompson, R. 802,219 - 58%

WYOMING

100%
x-Sullivan, D. 104,500 - 65%
Mead, R. 55,426 - 53%

Winners in House of Representatives: At Least 9 More Seats for the Democrats

ALABAMA

1 Sonny Callahan R (D)
2 Bill Dickens R (D)
3 Glen Browder R (D)
4 Tom Bevil R (D)
5 Bud Cramer D (D)
6 Bea Erdreich D (D)
7 Claude Harris D (D)

ALASKA

At-Large Don Young R (D)

ARIZONA

1 John Rhodes III R (D)
2 Morris Udall D (D)
3 Bob Stump R (D)
4 Jon Kyl R (D)
5 Jim Kolbe R (D)

ARKANSAS

1 Bill Alexander D (D)
2 Ray Thornton R (D)
3 J. Hammons R (D)
4 Beryl Anthony Jr. D (D)

CALIFORNIA

1 No winner declared
2 Wally Harger R (D)
3 Robert Matsui R (D)
4 Vic Fazio D (D)
5 Nancy Pelosi D (D)
6 Barbara Boxer D (D)
7 George Miller D (D)
8 Ronald Dellums D (D)
9 Forney Stark D (D)
10 Don Edwards D (D)
11 Tom Lantos D (D)
12 Tom Campbell R (D)
13 Norman Mineta D (D)
14 No winner declared
15 Gerv Condit D (D)
16 Leon Panetta D (D)
17 Calvo Dooley R (D)
18 Richard Lehman D (D)
19 Robert Lagomarsino R (D)
20 William Thomas R (D)
21 Elton Gallegly R (D)
22 Carlos Moorhead R (D)
23 Anthony Beason D (D)
24 Henry Waxman D (D)
25 Edward Roybal D (D)
26 Howard Berman D (D)
27 Mel Levine D (D)
28 Julian Dixon D (D)
29 Maxine Waters D (D)
30 Matthew Martinez D (D)
31 Mervyn Dymally D (D)
32 Glenn Anderson D (D)
33 David Dreier R (D)
34 Esteban Torres D (D)
35 Jerry Lewis R (D)
36 George Brown D (D)
37 Al McCandless R (D)
38 Robert Dornan R (D)
39 William Dannemeyer R (D)

COLORADO

1 Pat Schroeder D (D)
2 Craig James D (D)
3 David Skaggs D (D)
4 Ben Campbell D (D)
5 Wayne Allard R (D)
6 Joe Hefley R (D)
7 Dan Schaefer R (D)

CONNECTICUT

1 Barbara Kennedy D (D)
2 Sam Goldson D (D)
3 Ross DeLauro D (D)
4 Christopher Shays R (D)
5 Gary Franks R (D)
6 Nancy Johnson R (D)

DELAWARE

At-Large Tom Carper D (D)

FLORIDA

1 Earl Hutto D (D)
2 Pete Peterson D (D)
3 Charles Bennett D (D)
4 Vic Fazio D (D)
5 Bill McCollum R (D)
6 Clifford Stearns R (D)
7 Sam Gibbons D (D)
8 C. Young R (D)
9 Michael Bilirakis R (D)
10 Andy Irelan R (D)
11 Jim Bacchus D (D)
12 Tom Lewis R (D)
13 Porter Goss R (D)
14 Clay Shaw Jr. R (D)
15 Harry Johnson II D (D)
16 Richard LeMay D (D)
17 William Lehman D (D)
18 Ileana Ros-Lehtinen R (D)
19 Dante Fascell D (D)

GEORGIA

1 Lindsay Thomas D (D)
2 Charles Hatcher D (D)
3 Richard Ray D (D)
4 Ben Jones D (D)
5 John Lewis D (D)
6 Newt Gingrich R (D)
7 Buddy Darden D (D)
8 Roy Rowland D (D)
9 Ed Jenkins D (D)
10 Doug Barnard Jr. D (D)

HAWAII

1 Neil Abercrombie D
2 Patsy Mink D (D)

IDAHO

1 Larry LaRocco D
2 Richard Stallings D (D)

ILLINOIS

1 Charles Hayes D (D)
2 Gus Savage D (D)
3 Martin Russo D (D)
4 George Sangmeister D (D)
5 William Lipinski D (D)
6 Henry Hyde R (D)
7 Cardiss Collins D (D)
8 Dan Rostenkowski D (D)
9 Sidney Yates D (D)
10 John Porter R (D)
11 Frank Annunzio D (D)
12 Philip Crane R (D)
13 Harris Fawell R (D)
14 Dennis Hastert R (D)
15 Edward Madigan R (D)
16 John Cox Jr. D (D)
17 Lane Evans D (D)
18 Robert Michel R (D)
19 Terry Beaudry D (D)
20 Richard Durbin D (D)
21 Jerry Costello D (D)
22 Glenn Poshard D (D)

INDIANA

1 Peter Visclosky D (D)
2 Philip Sharp D (D)
3 Tim Roemer D (D)
4 Jim Long D (D)
5 James Jontz D (D)
6 Dan Burton R (D)
7 John Myers R (D)
8 Frank McCloskey D (D)
9 Lee Hamilton D (D)
10 Andrew Jacobs Jr. D (D)

IOWA

1 Jim Leach R (D)
2 Jim Nussle R (D)
3 David Nagle D (D)
4 Neal Smith R (D)
5 Jim Lightfoot R (D)
6 Fred Grandy R (D)

KANSAS

1 Pat Roberts R (D)
2 Joe Starnes D (D)
3 Jan Meyers R (D)
4 Dan Cluckman D (D)
5 Dick Nichols R

KENTUCKY

1 Carroll Hubbard Jr. D (D)
2 William Natcher D (D)
3 Romano Mazzoli D (D)
4 Jim Bunning R (D)
5 Harold Rogers R (D)
6 Larry Hopkins R (D)
7 Carl Perkins D (D)

LOUISIANA

1 Robert Livingston Jr. R (D)
2 William Jefferson D (D)
3 Billy Tauzin D (D)
4 Jim McCrery R (D)
5 Jerry Huckaby D (D)
6 Dennis Heintz D (D)
7 James Hays R (D)
8 Clyde Holloway R (D)

MAINE

THE 1990 ELECTIONS: Senators register strong support from voters in their best showing since 1962



Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina, acknowledging his victory over Harvey Gantt.

Minnesotan Is the Sole Senate Incumbent to Lose

By Helen Dewar
and John E. Yang
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Rudy Boschwitz, Republican of Minnesota, was the only senator to be turned out by the voters as the 31 other Senate incumbents won re-election. Mr. Boschwitz was narrowly beaten by Paul Wellstone, a Democrat.

There were some surprises, though. Senator Bill Bradley narrowly survived a surprisingly strong challenge in New Jersey from Christine Todd Whitman, a relatively unknown and underfunded Republican.

Mr. Boschwitz's defeat increases the Democratic advantage in the Senate to 56 to 44.

"It means that the Republican chances of taking control in 1992 are much diminished, and I think we will retain control in '92," said the Senate majority leader, George J. Mitchell, Democrat of Maine.

It was the first time since 1962 that incumbents did so well. The strong showing of the Senate incumbents came despite widespread dissatisfaction with Congress and the conduct of campaigns.

In the high-profile, hotly contested race that was expected to produce a record turnout in North Carolina for an off-year election, Senator Jesse Helms defeated a Democrat, Harvey Gantt, the former mayor of Charlotte, by about 8 percentage points.

In two close races, Senator Daniel K. Akaka, Democrat of Hawaii, defeated Representative Patricia F. Saiki, who was expected by her fellow Republicans to win.

In the New Jersey race, which neither party had regarded as close before voters started pouring in for Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Bradley was locked through most of the evening in a struggle with the former state public utilities commissioner who had made a big issue out of recent state tax increases.

Mr. Bradley is regarded as a leading Democratic presidential prospect in 1992 or later. He outperformed Mrs. Whitman by more than 20 to 1, according to final pre-election spending reports. But he was apparently hit hard by a voter backlash against Governor Jim Florio's \$2.8 billion tax increase, which Mr. Bradley refused to address in his campaign.

In Kentucky, where the race appeared to tighten toward the end of the campaign, Senator Mitch McConnell, a Republican, won, defeating Harvey Stans, a Democratic former mayor of Louisville.

In Minnesota, the lead switched during the night between Mr. Boschwitz and Mr. Wellstone, a little-known maverick who was boosted by turmoil in the state Republican Party.

In Massachusetts, Senator John F. Kerry, a Democrat, defeated Jim Rappaport despite an early scare for Mr. Kerry in a voter backlash against Democratic officeholders.

In Iowa, Senator Tom Harkin became the first Democrat

ever re-elected to the Senate, defeating the challenger, Representative Thomas J. Tauke, after a hard-fought race.

In two other races that had once been regarded as potentially close, Senators Paul Simon, Democrat of Illinois, and Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan, won easy victories over their House Republican challengers, Representatives Lynn Martin of Illinois and Bill Schaefer of Michigan.

In another race that Republicans had singled out for an upset, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, handily overcame a challenge by Representative Claudine Schneider.

Another veteran, Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, defeated Harry Lonsdale, who had closed in on Mr. Hatfield in the last few weeks of the campaign with a strong anti-incumbent pitch.

Republicans won all three races for open seats being vacated by retiring Republicans. Representative Robert C. Smith easily won over former Senator John Durkin in New

Virginia — won re-election by default when no major party opponents filed to challenge them.

Even before the polls opened, chances appeared remote that there would be much change in the Democrats' 10-vote margin in the Senate, despite heated races in many states.

Republicans conceded that there was no chance they could oust the Democrats from the majority they have held since 1980. And Democrats harbored few illusions that they could gain enough seats to muster the 60 votes needed to stop Republican filibusters or the 67 votes necessary to override a presidential veto.

But even a small change in the Senate's makeup could strengthen President George Bush's hand in dealing with the Democratic-controlled 103rd Congress that will convene Jan. 3, or, conversely, embolden the Democratic leadership in challenging administration positions.

Already re-elected was Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Democrat of Louisiana, who fended off a surprisingly strong challenge from a former Ku Klux Klan leader, David Duke, in the state's open primary a month ago. Under Louisiana law, candidates can avoid a runoff in November if they win a majority of all primary votes, as Mr. Johnston did. Mr. Duke, running as a Republican to the dismay of many national party leaders, took 44 percent of the vote.

Of the 34 seats at stake, 16 were held by Democrats, all of whom sought re-election. Mr. Akaka, a House member appointed six months ago to succeed the late Senator Spark Matsunaga was regarded as the Democrats' most vulnerable incumbent.

The other 18 Senate seats were held by Republicans, 15 of whom sought re-election. The three Republican retirees — William L. Armstrong of Colorado, James A. McClure of Idaho and Gordon J. Humphrey of New Hampshire — are from the conservative wing of the party, as were the Republican candidates to succeed them.

From the start, the elections this year were viewed as a warmup for a battle for control of the Senate in 1992, when Democrats will be defending 20 seats and the Republicans 14. Many of the seats that the Democrats will be defending then were picked up in 1986, when the party regained control of the Senate, ending six years of Republican majority.

Republicans figured that if they could pick up two or three seats this year, they would be within striking distance of recapturing control of the Senate in 1992, when they are counting on a boost from an expected re-election bid by Mr. Bush. Democrats said they would be content to hold their own at 55 seats this year.

But, as the year wore on, an anti-Washington, anti-incumbent mood swept the country, made worse toward the end by a tumultuous budget fight between Congress and the White House. The Republican House members who were challenging for Senate seats were themselves seen as Washington insiders, and thus lost the edge they were seeking.

Senate Results: Little Change

ALABAMA	99%
x-Heflin, D (I)	711,972 - 61%
Cabanius, R (I)	462,114 - 39%
ALASKA	95%
Besley, D	51,566 - 33%
x-Stevens, R (I)	106,465 - 67%
ARKANSAS	99%
x-Fryer, D (I)	Uncontested
COLORADO	100%
Heath, D	425,681 - 43%
x-Brown, R	568,335 - 57%
DELAWARE	100%
x-Biden, D (I)	112,128 - 63%
Brady, R	64,682 - 37%
GEORGIA	99%
x-Nunn, D (I)	Uncontested
HAWAII	100%
x-Akaka, D (I)	188,901 - 54%
Saiki, R	155,978 - 45%
Schroeder, Oth	4,767 - 1%
IDAHO	99%
Twillegar, D	112,752 - 59%
x-Craig, R	178,653 - 61%
ILLINOIS	98%
x-Simon, D (I)	2,076,696 - 65%
Martin, R	1,124,951 - 35%
INDIANA	100%
Hill, D	692,234 - 46%
x-Costa, R (I)	779,472 - 54%
IOWA	100%
x-Harkin, D (I)	527,757 - 54%
Tauke, R	449,322 - 46%
KANSAS	100%
Williams, D	207,148 - 26%
x-Kassebaum, R (I)	576,239 - 74%
KENTUCKY	99%
Stans, D	436,835 - 48%
x-McConnell, R (I)	477,004 - 52%
LOUISIANA	99%
x-Johnston, D (I)	Uncontested
MAINE	99%
Rolds, D	198,756 - 39%
x-Cohen, R (I)	314,995 - 61%
MASSACHUSETTS	99%
x-Kerry, D (I)	1,319,375 - 57%
Rappaport, R	992,875 - 43%
MICHIGAN	100%
x-Levin, D (I)	1,471,729 - 58%
Schaefer, R	1,054,614 - 42%
MINNESOTA	99%
x-Wellstone, D (I)	881,712 - 52%
Boschwitz, R	828,432 - 48%
MISSISSIPPI	99%
x-Cochran, R (I)	Uncontested
MONTANA	100%
x-Baucus, D (I)	217,451 - 70%
Kolstad, R	93,984 - 30%
NEBRASKA	100%
x-Evans Jr., D (I)	342,761 - 39%
Danz Jr., R	237,585 - 41%
NEW HAMPSHIRE	100%
Durkin, D	91,786 - 33%
x-Smith, R	188,854 - 67%
NEW JERSEY	99%
x-Bradley, D (I)	972,056 - 51%
Whitman, R	916,359 - 49%
NEW MEXICO	99%
Benavides, D	109,375 - 27%
x-Domenici, R (I)	294,226 - 73%
NORTH CAROLINA	99%
Gantt, D	973,959 - 47%
x-Helms, R (I)	1,078,603 - 53%
OKLAHOMA	100%
x-Boren, D (I)	735,644 - 83%
Jones, R	148,814 - 17%
OREGON	100%
Lonsdale, D	464,705 - 46%
x-Hatfield, R (I)	542,655 - 54%
RHODE ISLAND	99%
x-Pell, D (I)	217,339 - 62%
Schneider, R	134,267 - 38%
SOUTH CAROLINA	99%
Cunningham, D	242,955 - 34%
x-Thurmond, R (I)	477,947 - 66%
SOUTH DAKOTA	100%
Muenster, D	116,639 - 45%
x-Pressler, R (I)	135,692 - 55%
Stender, Oth	6,566 - 3%
TENNESSEE	100%
x-Gore Jr., D (I)	526,869 - 70%
Rowland, R	229,714 - 30%
TEXAS	99%
Parmer, D	1,428,633 - 38%
x-Crumm, R (I)	2,292,451 - 62%
VIRGINIA	99%
x-Warner, R (I)	874,478 - 82%
Spennous, Oth	196,692 - 18%
WEST VIRGINIA	100%
x-Rockefeller, D (I)	274,538 - 69%
Yoder, R	126,018 - 31%
WYOMING	100%
Helfing, D	56,692 - 36%
x-Simpson, R (I)	100,800 - 64%

NOTE: The percentage of precincts counted is given on the line after the state name. "D" and "R" designate Democratic and Republican candidates. An "x" before a name indicates the winning candidate. The notation "(I)" identifies the incumbent in the race. The figure after the vote total is that candidate's percentage of the total vote in the race.



Sharon Pratt Dixon, a Democrat, telling her jubilant supporters that it is "time to clean house" in Washington, D.C., after she was elected mayor of the national capital.

SETBACK: Bush's Efforts for Republicans Failed to Convince Voters

(Continued from page 1)

trends were difficult to discern, voter resentment proved to be less potent than expected.

The political thunder rolled and the electoral lightning crackled on Tuesday night: first Mr. Bradley and then Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, the Republican arch-conservative, seemed headed for defeat, but both of them finally managed to pull out a victory.

When the storm had cleared, relatively little had changed on Capitol Hill, as the magical potions of incumbency — money and name recognition and services rendered for constituents great and small — did their work again.

Only one Senate seat moved from one party to the other, as Rudy Boschwitz, a Minnesota Republican, lost to a political neophyte, Paul Wellstone.

A few House members lost, mostly because of local circumstances: Roy Dyson, a Maryland Democrat, because of links to Pentagon procurement scandals; Stanford E. Parris, a Virginia Republican, partly because of his views on abortion; John P. Hiler, an Indiana Republican, who has had close races and finally ran out of luck; and Bill Gram, a Florida Republican,

who switched parties and offended his constituents.

The most astonishing reversal came in the district centered on the longtime liberal stronghold of Madison, Wisconsin, where Representative Robert W. Kastenmeier, a 16-term Democratic incumbent tied for 11th in seniority in the House, was ousted by a former television news reporter, Scott L. King.

Mr. King described Mr. Kastenmeier, 66, whose seat was once held by Robert M. La Follette, as "torn, worn and outdated."

In Oregon, Representative Denny Smith, a Republican with ties to the savings and loan scandals, went down to defeat, but another politician tarred with that brush, Representative Frank Annunzio, Democrat of Illinois, survived.

In an average midterm election, the party holding the White House loses 28 seats, and it seemed highly unlikely that Mr. Bush would do that badly.

But he had relatively few seats to lose; no president in history has ever taken office with his party holding as weak a position in the House.

And the losses he did suffer presented him with the prospect of an even stronger Democratic opposition on Capitol Hill.

The change could make it harder for Mr. Bush to govern. The recent employment discrimination bill, for example, passed the House by a margin of 273 to 154, or 17 short of the margin needed to override the president's veto. The changes on Tuesday would put the Democrats within reach of a "veto proof" margin in the House.

But it was governors of both parties, buffeted by the beginnings of a recession, closer to the voters than Washington legislators.

Democrats took statehouses away from Republicans in several parts of the country, from Florida to Kansas to Rhode Island, although in the Midwest, the Republicans ran strongly in states like Michigan and Ohio, where Democrats had controlled statehouses for considerable periods.

It was a trade much to the benefit of the Democrats, who will now be in a position to draw the new lines of power to suit themselves in four of the five largest states — New York, Texas, Florida and Pennsylvania.

Few Voters Bothered To Show Up

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — Voter turnout in the midterm elections appears close to that of 1986, the lowest in nearly a half-century. Curtis Gans, a leading vote analyst, said Wednesday.

In the 1986 midterm election, 36.4 percent of eligible voters went to the polls, the lowest since 1942.

Voting totals were still incomplete. Mr. Gans said, "If there are 3 million votes yet to be counted, it will be slightly under 1986." Mr. Gans said, "If there are 4 million more it will be a little over."

"Democrats stayed about the same in turnout," he added. "Republicans declined by very little, and there was an increase in voting for third parties and others." Mr. Gans is director of the nonpartisan Committee for the Study of the American Electorate.

Mr. Gans said he expected the final result to show slight increases in turnout in 23 states and slight declines in 23 others.

A low turnout had been expected in the midterm election to choose 36 governors, 34 senators, 435 members of Congress and thousands of state and local officials — and to pass judgment on a bumper crop of ballot initiatives.

At polling places around the country Tuesday, disenchanted voters grumbled that the American electoral process had failed them and that the government it had produced no longer matched America's democratic dreams.

For others, the problem was not so much the people who run for office as the political process itself, which in recent years has produced a dizzying array of ballot measures and an abundance of negative campaigning.

(AP, NYT)

Ecologists Among the Losers In Array of Ballot Initiatives

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — In an election marked by anger against entrenched politicians, American voters sent a mixed message on a wide array of ballot initiatives.

Opponents of current tax policy and environmentalists were snubbed, and ballot measures calling for higher taxes were also voted down. Gun control forces won a small victory in Florida, and supporters of limiting politicians' time in office triumphed in California, Colorado and Kansas City.

In the most closely watched ballot initiative, Californians rejected Proposition 128, a far-reaching line-up of environmental regulations called Big Green by supporters who included a galaxy of Hollywood stars. Opponents, led by industrial companies, marshaled \$10 million in their campaign to defeat it.

Measures backed by environmentalists to regulate land use and pollution also lost in Washington, Oregon and Missouri. A \$1.97-billion bond issue to pay for environmental projects failed in New York.

In Colorado, voters approved an initiative limiting terms to 12 years for U.S. senators and representatives and to eight years for elected state officials. The portion of the measure limiting terms for members of Congress is expected to face a constitutional challenge.

In California, Proposition 140, an initiative to place lifetime limits of eight years on state senators and state elected officials, also won. A less stringent, term-limiting measure that also would have provided public campaign financing lost.

Voters in Kansas City limited the mayor and city council members to two terms. And in Arizona, voters rejected a pay raise for legislators.

Recent gains by abortion-rights forces nationwide appeared to be affirmed by the outcome of ballot questions in two states. A measure that would have outlawed abortions except in cases of rape, incest or risk to a woman's life lost in Oregon, while Nevada voters backed a measure that would protect the state's 17-year-old abortion-rights law against tampering by state lawmakers.

Citizen initiatives calling for drastic tax cuts or limits on government spending lost in Massachusetts, Nebraska, Colorado and Utah. But in Oregon, an initiative to limit property taxes to 1.5 percent of assessed value passed narrowly. The Massachusetts tax initiative would have repealed two income tax increases and rescinded fee increases since 1988, costing the state government \$2.6 billion in its next fiscal year. It lost by a 3-to-2 margin on fears that it would further hobble the state economy.

Florida voters amended the state constitution to require a three-day wait on purchases of pistols.

A proposal to make Martin Luther King's birthday a holiday in Arizona lost by fewer than 15,000 votes out of 1 million cast, leaving the state as one of three without a formal holiday honoring the slain civil rights leader.

Voters in Oregon defeated a plan to give tax credits to parents who send their children to parochial or other private schools, and Arizonans rejected a proposal to increase spending on education by about \$6 billion over 10 years.

Voters were not sending a welcoming message to higher taxes, however.

Montanans voted against a proposal to make the state cigarette tax the highest in the nation in an attempt to reduce smoking. Californians rejected two proposals to increase liquor taxes and upheld a constitutional ban on personal income taxes.

Voters in Washington rejected a sweeping measure to control development in environmentally sensitive areas and mandate land-use planning throughout the state. In Oregon, voters defeated strict recycling rules and a proposal to shut down the state's only nuclear power plant.

Missourians said no to a Natural Streams initiative to regulate development along scenic waterways in the Ozark Mountains. In South Dakota, a measure to limit mining in the Black Hills lost, but a proposal to regulate large-scale garbage dumps won.

Elsewhere:

- Alaskans voted to make private possession of marijuana a crime once again, striking down the nation's most liberal cannabis law.
- Voters in Washington, D.C., turned back an attempt to restore the right of homeless people to city-financed overnight shelter.
- Arizonans defeated a 20-percent cut in auto insurance rates.
- Maine voters abolished the state's tough blue laws that force most big retailers to close Sundays.
- Oregonians made it illegal not to use seat belts in cars. They also voted to experiment with replacing welfare benefits with low-paying jobs, but the program would require approval from Congress.
- Voters in the Staten Island borough of New York City approved a referendum to start a process that could lead to secession from the city. Voters in predominantly black Boston neighborhoods also considered a secession study, but vote totals had not been released.

(WP, AP)

ELECTIONS: Democrats Win Governorships in Florida and Texas

(Continued from page 1)

Martinez, who was trying to become the first Republican ever to win re-election as governor of Florida.

Voter discontent was apparent around the country in narrower-than-expected victories for many prominent candidates, including two of the Democratic Party's top national prospects, Governor Mario M. Cuomo of New York and Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey.

Resentment among voters was also tangible in Connecticut, where Lowell P. Weicker Jr., the former Republican senator defeated in 1988 and now running as an independent, was elected governor in a campaign that attacked both parties.

He became the first independent to be elected governor of an American state since the Watergate-inspired voter rebellion of 1974.

In Massachusetts, anxiety and anger over taxes and the sagging economy overwhelmed other issues. But John R. Silber, the Democratic candidate for governor, fell just short in his attempt to ride that wave of anger. He conceded early Wednesday to the Republican, William F. Weld.

Mr. Weld's victory fit a national pattern in contests for governor. Voters turned to whichever party had not been in power in the last few years of economic stress and tax increases.

Governor Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts has been increasingly unpopular as the economy has worsened.

Mr. Bradley, in New Jersey, survived an unexpectedly tight race against the Republican Christine Todd Whitman. Voters took out on Mr. Bradley their anger at another Democrat, Governor James J. Florio, who sponsored the biggest tax increase in state history.

One of the hardest-fought races in the country was the battle for the Senate in North Carolina. The Republican incumbent, Jesse Helms, defeated his Democratic opponent, Harvey Gantt, the former mayor of Charlotte, 53 percent to 47 percent.

The Republican governor of Rhode Island, Edward D. DiPrete, whose standing was hurt by tax increases and a corruption scandal, was defeated by the Democrat, Bruce G. Sundlind, a wealthy businessman, 62 percent to 38 percent.

While Democrats were making gains in the Sun Belt, Republicans were running fierce races from the Northeast and throughout the "Rust Belt."

Governor Rudy Perpich of Minnesota, a Democrat, was defeated by Arne Carlson, a Republican who entered the race only last

week. The original Republican nominee dropped out after disclosures that he had once swum in the nude with his daughters' teenage friends.

The first elections of the 1990s were watched as a possible referendum on Mr. Bush and on issues such as abortion and race.

The Republican defeats were blows for the president, reflecting a trend that politicians say began to build in recent weeks as concern about recession deepened and as Mr. Bush dropped his long stand against new taxes in pursuit of a deficit-reduction deal.

Florida was a crucial prize, one of the nation's biggest and fastest-growing states. It will probably gain four congressional seats after reapportionment next year, and Mr. Chiles's victory means that his new political map will be drawn entirely by Democrats.

Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Voters Needed a Choice

What did Tuesday's election prove? Nothing, except that when voters are not given choices to make, they cannot make them. And since there were so few truly contested races either in New York or elsewhere in the country, there is little point in consulting the sum of the parts.

The election brought results, sure enough, but hardly one moment of suspense. Long before midnight, Mario Cuomo was sweeping on to his third term as governor of New York, and Robert Abrams was destined for easy re-election as New York Attorney General. Charles Rangel was a shoo-in for his 11th term as a New York representative, Stephen Solari for his ninth, Ted Weiss for his eighth, Bill Green his seventh and Charles Schumer his sixth.

And it was like that around the country. The voters' biennial Day of Decision turned mostly into a day of foregone conclusions. That is in no sense the fault of the voters. They had virtually no choices. The two parties seem mindlessly determined to vindicate George Wallace's 1972 rant that there is not a dime's worth of difference between them.

Consider the Democratic and Republican parties' posturing over the federal budget legislation. A Republican president could not get enough Republican support to pass it and required Democratic support. The Democrats gave it, but only after simulating flogging the Republicans for supposedly failing to seek the rich. President George Bush, not to be outdone in demagoguery, then spent the last few days of the campaign denouncing the very Democrats who had saved the budget.

If the voters thus had a hard time distin-

guishing between the parties' fiscal positions, they had an even harder time in distinguishing between candidates. Of the 435 contests for the House of Representatives, incumbents ran for re-election in 406, and typically they had powerfully more campaign money than their challengers.

What does "powerfully" mean? Common Cause, the public interest lobby, offers a dramatic answer: As of Sept. 30, two Congressmen, Mr. Solari of Brooklyn and Mel Levine of Los Angeles, had raised, between them, \$3.4 million. That compares to \$3.3 million raised among them, by 331 challengers. That is not a criticism of Mr. Solari and Mr. Levine, who have mastered the present system; it is a powerful argument to reform the system.

For the parties to demonstrate more than a dime's worth of difference in their political philosophies probably requires greater problems or braver candidates. But there is a lot that can be done about the millions of dollars' difference between incumbents and challengers. Congress could finally impose strict limits on money from political action committees.

The Republicans can no longer duck the idea of spending limits by arguing that such limits hurt challengers. The clearest reform would replace all the special interest money with public financing. And there are creative ideas for indirect support like public vouchers for television ads, and low-cost mail.

Incumbency puts an insuperable thumb on the political scale and reforms like these will not level it. But they would put back some fairness, some suspense—and some choice — into Election Day.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Europe Stalls on Trade

Europe is moving rapidly toward federal union, in an atmosphere that ought to make Americans more than slightly uneasy. The acceleration is proceeding at the expense of Europe's responsibilities abroad. That is clearly visible in the fading hope for the world trade negotiations, which are jeopardized by the Europeans' peculiarly disruptive and costly methods for protecting their farmers from foreign competition.

Trade, along with its steady expansion across national boundaries, has been a consistent force for economic growth ever since World War II. The current round of negotiations is an attempt to strengthen the rules of trade, make them fairer and extend them to areas—like agriculture—that they have not traditionally covered.

The odds against success in these talks are rising. Of the three great centers of economic power, Japan remains basically protectionist. If Europe now continues to turn inward, that would leave only the United States and some of the smaller countries committed to open markets—and plenty of American industries are hard at work to block any progress. The deadline for this round of trade talks is nearing, and if they collapse, every trading nation in the world will suffer for it.

The European Community took a dramatic step toward union a week ago when,

jumping ahead of its own schedule, it agreed to create a central bank by 1994. That foresees the creation of a single European currency before the end of the century, a tremendous transfer of sovereignty from the 12 member countries to a community that would then become, in all economic and financial matters, a true federal government.

In contrast, the 12 have been deeply divided among themselves over trade and farm policy. Until this week they were paralyzed, unable even to come up with an agreed position to bring to the world negotiations.

Now they finally have a position, but one that is clearly inadequate. It would promise a microscopic reduction in farm subsidies. But it apparently proposes to do nothing about the most damaging of the community's trade practices, the dumping of its unwanted surpluses on world markets.

Europe's leaders make it clear that they have grander things on their minds and do not have time for the tedious and narrow details of farm politics. Rich and confident, the European Community is rushing toward unity at a remarkable rate, while its impoverished eastern neighbors clamor to join. But the Europe of the 12 did not become rich by ignoring its trading interests abroad, nor is it likely to keep growing richer by ignoring them now.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

A Demagogue's Legacy

The first step in sorting out the death of Meir Kahane, the American-born Israeli politician who was gunned down in New York on Monday night, is easy. He was assassinated on American soil. This is shocking and terrible. The suspect arrested in the case, an Egyptian-born American maintenance worker, and anyone else who might have had a part in the crime should be brought to justice. That much is clear. It is also clear that his life, like his death, was marked by violence. Rabbi Kahane came to public notice in New York in the 1960s when he founded the Jewish Defense League, a group that was ostensibly organized to protect elderly Jews against street muggings but that became an instrument of vigilante justice directed against blacks and, for their symbolic connection to the persecution of Soviet Jews, Soviet diplomats. Emigrating to Israel, the rabbi started up an Israeli political party, Kach, devoted to expelling all Arabs from the West Bank and from Israel proper, and served a term in parliament.

Rabbi Kahane was a practiced, media-wise demagogue who, playing on his listeners' darkest fears, claimed he spoke not simply the public thoughts of his few acknowledged followers but the unspoken private thoughts of a much broader constituency among American Jews as well as in Israel. But in the United States his extremism of method and word kept him isolated from the far fringe. In Israeli politics, he was elected only once in three tries and then was drummed out of the political arena; at his death he faced a sedition trial for his overt anti-Arab racism. There is a hard right in Israel, but it does not go about boasting the open contempt of the line—the line of civility and the rule of law—that Meir Kahane deliberately crossed. He took a concern for Jewish victims of hate and twisted it into a rationale for hating Arabs. His legacy has no proper place anywhere.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Puerto Ricans Wait

Puerto Rico's three main political parties all favor allowing citizens of the island to vote in 1991 to decide whether it should seek statehood or independence, or continue as a commonwealth. Puerto Ricans could then decide whether to give permanent form to their present status—a meaningful home rule, with exemption from federal taxes but no vote in federal elections—or forgo these benefits for more power as a state or sovereign nation.

This is a serious matter, but no vote is possible unless Congress deals with it seriously. Two years of debating produced very different Senate and House plenary measures that were left in the lurch when Congress adjourned. These are the same lawmakers who always can find time to lecture the world on the need for self-determination in the Baltic republics or in South Africa.

It is modestly comforting that J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, chairman of the relevant Senate committee, vows to do better

when Congress resumes in January. He says he has the full support of Speaker Thomas Foley to bring out a bill by July so that the referendum can actually take place.

The House has approved a bill that would let Puerto Ricans choose among three possibilities only generally defined. Congress would then pass implementing legislation, which would go to a second referendum.

The Senate measure would spell out the benefits and burdens of each choice, and make the initial plebiscite self-executing by binding Congress to honor the outcome. The House would let the legislature in San Juan decide whether Puerto Ricans on the mainland may take part in the referendum; the Senate bill has no such provision.

The advantage of the simpler House bill is that it gives Puerto Ricans two chances to vote on a permanent status. The drawback is that Congress has a poor record of respecting the wishes of Puerto Ricans.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

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OPINION

The American Voter Has Elected to Sleep

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — The question everybody else asks when there are elections in the United States is why Americans don't vote. It is sad and bitter to acknowledge that most people in the country that trumpets itself as leader of the democracies can't be bothered to make use of the process.

The irony when people so long deprived of freedom's right elsewhere have triumphed over terrible obstacles to the point of becoming familiar to the point of becoming trite. I don't know why it happens.

All the facile explanations ring with some element of truth. But the United States has not covered the world supply of venal politicians, of windbags, of cynics, nor of disinterested citizens.

Anything under about three out of four eligible voters taking part in any major election is considered shocking in other democracies.

Democracy is much more than an election, of course, as the hapless countries of Eastern Europe are discovering. It is about open argument, capacity to compromise, tolerance of opposition, patience to persevere in defeat and try again to persuade. But there is not another way beside elections to establish government by consent. There are always governments of some kind. Good or bad, society can't survive without them.

The Dutch "Provo's," the feisty and witty anti-establishmentarians of the 1960s generation, found out in an unusually painless way. They ran candidates in an Amsterdam election and some won.

"That's the trouble," said a disgruntled rebel. "No matter who wins, the government always gets in."

Governments can make sure they don't have to worry about how people want to vote by repression, terror, vast corruption. They also lose, eventually, but in upheavals, coups, revolutions, which often start the awful cycle again.

Democracy can make bad mistakes, like others, but they have the unique advantage of a way to make corrections before it is too late.

Government by indifference, which is the result of some third of the electorate exercising its right (not a privilege; the privilege is to have inherited the basic right) is not really government by consent.

Things can be done to improve the choice offered if people really want a better choice. Things can be done to reduce the power of money and raise the level of debate if people want a better way of choosing.

The amount of money spent on this lackadaisical, largely ignored

midterm campaign is staggering. The average senator has to raise \$12,000 a week every week of his six-year term. Congress has long been talking about reforming campaign finance. Nothing much happens because the voters generally respond by turning their backs on congressional elections.

The big spiral in campaign costs is primarily the expense of television advertising and carefully programmed expertise. ("Mention children or animals in almost every sentence," a professional consultant was recently quoted as saying. "It doesn't matter what else you say.") Nothing much happens because the voters conformed the experts.

People are told what the poll-takers painstakingly calculate they want to hear. But they are so fed up with listening that they tune out and let

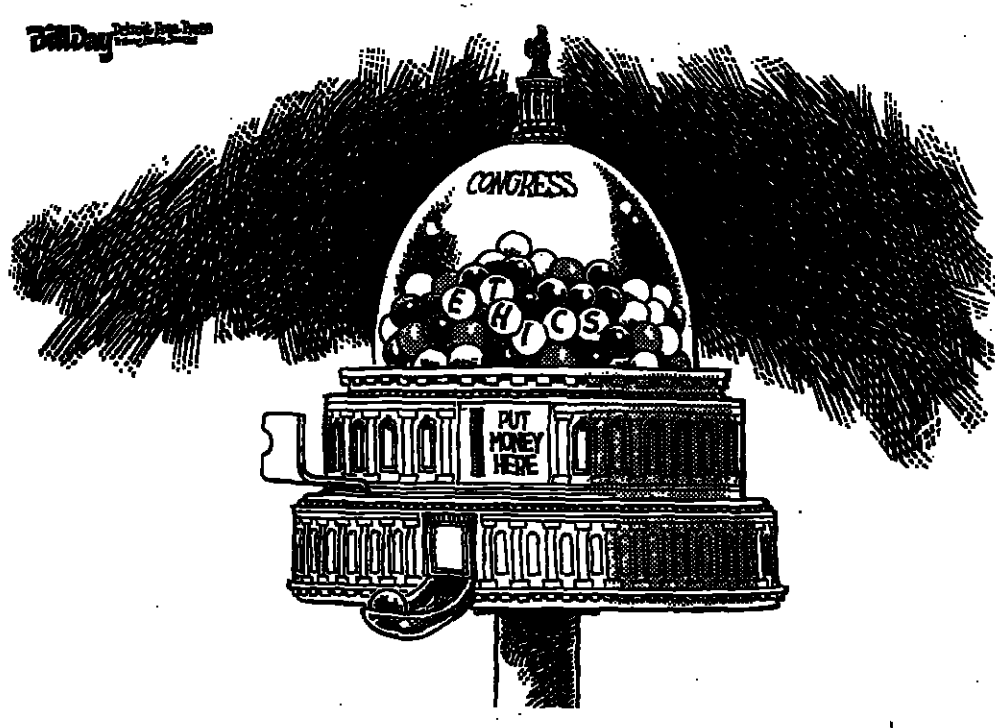
the poll-takers shape the decision. People loved Ronald Reagan and his feel-good politics. They are recognizing the legacy, but are not angry about having swallowed the snake oil. They are angry at being confronted with the bill; their conclusion is that politics is too dirty to contemplate.

This abdication won't ruin America. There is a resilience and underlying vitality that has carried the country through much worse. But it is especially depressing at a time when large parts of the world are groping for what America always preached and finds so hard to practice.

V. S. Naipaul, the superb writer born of Hindu parents in Trinidad and exquisitely educated in England, speaks now of a new "universal civilization" (*Opinion*, Nov. 5). It is a sense of the individual, with opportunity and responsibility, no longer a cog in someone else's age-old scheme.

"This idea of the pursuit of happiness is at the heart of the attractiveness of the civilization to so many outside it or on its periphery. I find it marvelous to contemplate to what an extent... the idea has come to a kind of fruition. It is an elastic idea; it fits all men. It implies a certain kind of society, a certain kind of awakened spirit." That is happening around the world. What makes Americans sleep?

—Columnist Charles Krauthammer writing in *Time* magazine.



Assume the Iraqi Bomb Is Just Around the Corner

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — In August of 1989, a terrifying explosion ripped apart the Al Qaqa munitions plant in Iraq. Sound waves carried the fact of the nonnuclear disaster for hundreds of miles, but news of what had happened remained Saddam Hussein's most closely guarded secret.

Farzad Bazofi, a journalist for a British publication, disguised himself as a medical technician and went to take a look. He was caught, and despite pleas from civilized capitals (George Bush's White House, in its appeasement mode, remained mute) the too-inquisitive reporter was hanged.

That sent a message to obscure U.S. senators and diplomats that Saddam Hussein knew how to deal with the press, but his defiance of civilized norms sent a more significant message to the world's intelligence agencies: the Iraqi dictator would go to any length to protect the secret of Al Qaqa.

There is reason to believe the secret is this: At Al Qaqa (pronounced with two choking sounds, a material was being produced called RMX, which stands for "rapid detonation explosive." But it still lacked the sophisticated triggers calibrated to millions of a second.

Dozens of Iraqi and foreign scientists and technicians paid with their lives to determine this fact: Control of detonation required electronic switches and low-maintenance, high-voltage capacitors that Iraq did not yet have.

After frantic repairs to the damaged munitions plant, Iraq was able to recommence production of RMX, along with another exotic explosive called RDX, which stands for "rapid detonation explosive." But it still lacked the sophisticated triggers calibrated to millions of a second.

In March, American and British agents seized some of these triggers being smuggled to Iraq via London's Heathrow Airport. It is not known whether other shipments of explosives evaded detection, but that possibility cannot be dismissed. What the seizure at Customs did confirm was that

the technology being sought at Al Qaqa was closely related to the detonation of HMX and RDX. Why is that information so important? Because it tells the world the purpose of the explosive material and the state of the art in Iraq.

The purpose of high-melting-point and rapid-detonation explosives is to implode on uranium-235. If timed correctly, that then sets off a nuclear explosion. It is safe to assume (more accurately, it is unsafe not to assume) that the Iraqis already have both the explosive and the triggers to set off U-235.

Your next question: Do they have the "yellow cake" to make gaseous uranium hexafluoride that can be fed into centrifuges to separate out the U-235? Beats me. But ever since writing in this space a couple of months ago that 26 centrifuges were to be the first targets of an air strike on Iraq, I have

been asked by a variety of scientists, spooks and snoopers how I knew that Iraqi nuclear scientists decided on the difficult implosion-device route to admission to the atomic club. Those queries led to the additional information above.

With a quarter-million U.S. and allied troops massed within striking distance of Saddam Hussein, it seems urgent to task our intelligence resources with this mission: How soon will Iraq be able to detonate a "dirty" nuclear device to decimate our forces? With his Tammuz 1 missile coming along nicely, with its range of 1,200 miles, soon will Saddam Hussein have unstoppable nuclear delivery potential throughout the Middle East and (through Mamlukia, whose leaders he owns) to Paris and London?

That is the clear and present danger the world faces, and that is the information to determine the timing of the strike to prevent nuclear equalization. Our old-book generals who want to wait until next year until we outnumber Iraqis on the ground are allowing Saddam Hussein the time to develop weaponry to inflict horrendous casualties.

How comfortably our editorialists say "let the sanctions work" for a year or two, as if the scientists at Al Qaqa were not feverishly racing to complete their work. How complacent some diplomats are that Saddam Hussein can be induced to give up the weapon that would give him effective control of the world.

We are not confronting this aggressor to save the oil flow, or to protect allies, or to reassert our leadership, or even primarily to establish the noble principle of collective security that would have averted World War II. We are dealing here with our own survival. As soon as Iraq gets the bomb and the missile, millions of American lives are in peril. Those are the stakes. And for all we know, it may be two minutes to midnight.

—The Los Angeles Times

Kahane's Message of Hatred and Violence Will Fade

By Robert I. Friedman

JERUSALEM — Rabbi Meir Kahane's murder in a Manhattan hotel on Monday night marks the end of a career that featured on political turmoil, race hatred and violent confrontation.

The worse it gets for Israel, the better it gets for me," he told me in New York shortly after he was elected to the Knesset in 1984. The militant rabbi certainly did everything within his power to make Israel an angrier and more polarized society.

A myth is already beginning to take shape to the effect that Mr. Kahane would have done far more damage had Israel not rejected him as a fringe character bordering on a lunatic. This is a dangerous distortion of the record.

Mr. Kahane rose to prominence and a seat in the Knesset in 1984 by exploiting the basic fears of Jews both in Israel and America. The basis of his popularity was his call to "transfer," or expel, Israeli Arabs—an idea that has been nourished recently in Israel by the passions unleashed by the Palestinian uprising.

Following the Temple Mount tragedy last month, in which Israeli police shot to death at least 17 Palestinians, Mr. Kahane escalated his anti-Arab rhetoric.

In one of the last articles he wrote for the Brooklyn-based Jewish Press, where he has appeared as a regular columnist since the mid-1960s, he appeared to draw a parallel between the status of contemporary Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories and the ancient Canaanites whose total extermination,

he wrote, is mandated in the Bible. On the strength of this appeal Mr. Kahane's Kach Party seemed headed for a breakthrough victory in the 1988 elections, with prospects for winning as many as 6 of the 120 seats in the Knesset. Such a vote would have made Kach the third largest party and enhanced enormously the political standing of its leader.

Far from an aberration or a political ploy, Mr. Kahane was on the verge of turning Kach into a right-wing juggernaut. But the Knesset passed a law banning parties that espoused racism and anti-democratic principles. It was common knowledge that the measure was aimed against Kach.

Ironically, the initiative to ban Mr. Kahane from the Knesset did not come from the left alone but was spearheaded by the Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, of the governing Likud Party and Gola Cohen of the Tehiya movement, who feared any votes cast for Mr. Kahane would be at their expense.

Yet it was these two who brought Mr. Kahane to Israel in 1971 when he was at the peak of his popularity as head of the Jewish Defense League in America, which was then waging a violent campaign against Soviet facilities in the United States in order to publicize the plight of Soviet Jews.

While the legislation prevented Mr. Kahane from running for the Knesset in 1988, it was not able to stop him from exacerbating tensions between Jews and Arabs. Whenever a Jew was

murdered in Israel by an Arab, Mr. Kahane could be found at the victim's funeral searching for recruits.

So perhaps, thanks to the timely action of Mr. Shamir and others, Mr. Kahane was a marginal figure with limited influence. But Kahaneism—the hatred of Arabs, liberal Jews and Western culture—has had anything but a limited impact in Israel.

Indeed, some of Mr. Kahane's ideas have taken root and have become respectable. Baruch Ze'evi, a retired major general and former Labor Party member, now sits in the Knesset at the head of the right-wing Moked party, whose single issue is transfer.

Mr. Kahane's diatribes against Israeli leftists have led to a string of attacks against liberal Israeli journalists, artists and politicians. Liberal Israeli politicians, including members of Knesset Now, have even resorted to fear that members of Kach will seek to avenge Mr. Kahane's killing at their expense.

After all, Mr. Kahane has called for the "liquidation" of liberal Jews whose views he disagrees with. "Their evil threatens every Jew, their sins will sink the Jewish ship, which carries every Jew," he wrote in 1984.

In the same article, he said that "when a Jew rises to challenge fundamentals of God, Jewry and Israel, that Jew must be stopped."

No Jew is likely to develop around Mr. Kahane now. Kach is a one-man show and will die with its leader. But the rabbi will have behind a

legacy of hatred and violence that will trouble Israelis and American Jews for some time.

Mr. Friedman is author of "The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane, From FBI Informant to Knesset Member." He contributed this column to *The New York Times*.

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OPINION

Now Celebrate de Gaulle As Rebel and Visionary

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Georges Pompidou, the crafty banker-president of France who died in office in 1974, is remembered today for two things. One is the damage he allowed his business chums to inflict on the Paris skyline with tasteless skyscrapers. The other is his eloquent announcement to the nation of his predecessor's death in 1970: "General de Gaulle is dead. France is a widow."

Which is to say that skylines and words still count in France. So does Charles de Gaulle, as Mr. Pompidou foresaw. The widow simultaneously

Mahaux, whom de Gaulle made Minister of Culture and the highest ranking member of his government to show that "history precedes politics," not vice versa. De Gaulle rarely used the telephone, explaining to friends that while the urgent came on the telephone, the important came in writing. He understood that the immediate chase away the future. It is his clarity and simplicity that the French miss most as they look back in regret on their final, Oedipal gesture of driving him from office with the twin blows of the 1968 student revolt and a 1969 negative vote in a referendum on administrative decentralization. De Gaulle said he would resign if the electorate voted against him. They did, and he did, stunning his cynical nation by keeping his word.

His resignation was announced in a two-sentence statement that explained nothing more than the fact that he had quit. De Gaulle retired to his simple country house at Colombey-les-deux-Églises without press officers and ghost writers, never again to give an interview, much less to accept lucrative lecture or memoir contracts.

Mr. De Gaulle's book is fascinating not because it charts the ideas and life of de Gaulle (it doesn't), but because it charts the intellectual metamorphosis of Mr. De Gaulle, a mustachioed, epigrammatic radical who discovers in middle age he shares the general's traditionalist values. That is a 180-degree turn for the former Communist revolutionary who accompanied Che Guevara in Bolivia and who was jailed and nearly killed by the Bolivians for his zeal.

Mr. De Gaulle later served as a foreign-policy adviser to François Mitterrand, de Gaulle's lifelong rival and France's current socialist president. This poem to de Gaulle makes clear Mr. De Gaulle's deep disillusionment with the Socialists, whom he accuses of having become as corrupt and indifferent in power as the right.

Do not mistake Mr. De Gaulle's trip as the kind of crossover that American New Leftists of the 1960s or '70s took to go hard right in the '80s and make careers out of renouncing their former ideas and colleagues. Fortunately for him and for his readers, Mr. De Gaulle lacks both the streak of vengeance-seeking and opportunism the American right-crossers show.

He says that it is precisely because he has stopped seeing the world in black-white, left-right terms that he has adopted de Gaulle as a political totem. The end of the Cold War may give the world the chance to put aside ideology as the only prism through which politics and values should be filtered, as de Gaulle once predicted. Mr. De Gaulle has decanted the message of this great man's life: Resist, in all circumstances. Be yourself, at all costs.

It is de Gaulle the rebel that we should celebrate this year.

The Washington Post.

Once, We Knew How to Teach Ethics to America's Youth

By William Raspberry

WASHINGTON — Talk to your friends about the declining ethical standards of America's young people, and you're likely to hear dozens of explanations: the pressure of television advertising; the greed-is-O.K. legacy of the Reagan years; the growing contrast between the haves and the have-nots; the capitulation of politicians to "special interests"; the societal emphasis on the individual interest and the disintegration of the family.

All true. But there is another, simpler reason why so many youngsters haven't

MEANWHILE

learned the values espoused by their elders: They haven't been taught.

They haven't been taught by the institutions (home, school and church) traditionally responsible for direct ethical instruction. And they haven't been taught by the example of their elders. Yet much of the talk about values consists of exhortations to the children to "return" to where they've never been.

Jesse Jackson makes the point with reference to the current "Afrocentric" insistence that the schools teach ethnic history. "We agree that ethnic pride is a good thing, that it addresses a need," he says. "We want to teach it in school because we assume the children have not learned it elsewhere. Isn't it interesting that we can see the necessity of teaching ethnic pride and not see the greater necessity of teaching ethical pride? The Ten Commandments aren't being taught any more than black history. Don't you think that just might have something to do with the way our young people are behaving?"

Mr. Jackson's focus is on the am-

oral tradition that allows some youngsters in the inner cities to commit the most heinous crimes without qualm or remorse. But while low-income neighborhoods may have a greater propensity for violence, the amorality that troubles Mr. Jackson pervades the society — particularly the young.

The Josephson Institute of Ethics recently issued a report ("The Ethics of American Youth") whose conclusion is that today's young people, in unprecedented proportions, "have severed themselves from the traditional moral anchors of American society — honesty, respect for others, personal responsibility and civic duty."

Michael Josephson, president and founder of the institute, writes of a large segment of the young adult population he labels the "Deserve-Its" or IDIs.

"Their IDI-ology," he contends, "is exceptionally and dangerously self-centered, preoccupied with personal needs, wants, don't-wants and rights. The IDI world view results in a greater willingness to abandon traditional ethical restraints in the pursuit of success, comfort or personal goals. Thus, IDIs are more likely to lie, cheat and engage in irresponsible behavior when it suits their purposes. IDIs act as if they need whatever they want and deserve whatever they need — as if winning is a basic right."

Not, he says, did his report uncover any offsetting good news about the twentysomething generation, beyond the obvious fact that the generalizations do not apply to every member of the group. In fact, he was so certain of a thoroughgoing assault on his message

that the messenger armed himself with "solid evidence leading inescapably" to the report's conclusions.

"But when we went public," Mr. Josephson said, "almost no one was concerned with the evidence — the data on massive cheating, résumé fraud, assaults on teachers, venereal disease, pregnancies and materialism. Callers from all over the country agreed with the conclusions at once and told stories confirming our findings."

If you think that's bad news, consider this: These twentysomethings are just a

few short years away from becoming the leaders of the America. What will happen when their "IDI-ology" becomes the dominant theme of the society? What can the present generation of leadership do to limit the chaos? In a word: Teach. By precept and example.

Americans need to see that, for perhaps the first time in the country's history, children are cut off from the value-forming myths that constitute the moral compass: Bible parables, the tales of Honest Abe, accounts of self-sacrificing abolitionists, stories of men and women whose heroism consisted not in striking it rich but in doing the right thing. We

have to reclaim these good examples. And we have to set good examples. No amount of talking about honesty and decent behavior will suffice when the children see the adults subordinating integrity to expediency, cutting ethical corners or cheating on their taxes or on their spouses.

It's not enough to mourn the good old days, when neighborhoods were safe and when people cared about their neighbors. We have to do what we can to restore the values of the good old days, or the days ahead will be worse than anything we can now imagine.

The Washington Post.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

What the UN Has to Offer

L. Ewart, who writes from Geneva (Letters, Oct. 11), suggests that low international civil-service salaries (compared to those in the private sector) are a major reason that the United Nations is experiencing difficulties in recruiting and retaining qualified staff members.

After four university degrees, nearly eight years of postgraduate research in biochemistry and molecular genetics and possessing a sound background in environmental and political science, I offered my services, over the past two years, to WHO and UNESCO twice, and once each to more than six other international agencies. From all those inquiries, I received not one positive response.

Perhaps no openings were available for someone of my educational background and experience. Or could it be that the number of suitable applicants was far greater than was needed?

Surely, not all the qualified individuals from all over the world who could apply

for these positions are so obtuse as to ignore work that provides tax-free income with six weeks of paid holiday and at a far better salary than a professor in my profession could ever earn — along with the other fringe benefits that go along with living in Geneva, Paris, Vienna or New York, the primary locations of the staff offices for the United Nations.

STEPHEN DEMCZUK, Stockholm.

In Defense of Serbia

The New York Times editorial "A Message for Belgrade" (Nov. 1) suggests that Yugoslavia's critical present situation can be attributed to the Republic of Serbia and to its leader Slobodan Milosevic. Serbia is also criticized for allegedly being a backward republic, hostile to democratic change. But there exist dozens of political parties with no links with the former Communists, and democratic elections are due in December.

Serbia is also said to be ready to use

force if Croatia or Slovenia declare their independence. It is a well-known fact that the only republic that could survive as an independent country would be Serbia.

MARC BOJANIC, Paris.

'A Feeling of Dread'

Takeshi Nakano, in "Hardly a Free Ride" (Letters, Oct. 12), refers to U.S. troops stationed in Japan as "uninvited guests." These troops are there not only to protect the interests of Japan but also to protect other Asian states from a recurrence of the military excesses of the 1930s and '40s. In this regard, the writer's statement that Japan's military is now among the most powerful in Asia is all the more frightening.

As a Filipino, I find the renewed trend toward nationalism in Japan terrifying. One has only to hear the extreme rightist loudspeaker vans daily on the streets of Tokyo to experience a feeling of dread.

As to who should pay to support Japan's "uninvited guests," I don't pretend to know, but stay they must, invited or not.

LEILA M. ANGARA, Tokyo.

An Appeal to Arafat

The Kuwaiti people have always supported the Palestinian people. We have consistently shared their suffering — morally, politically and financially — because of a stern belief in justice and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and an independent state. It is ironic, and indeed paradoxical, that Yasser Arafat, who has spent the last 40 years struggling against occupation, now stands in support of a similar occupation. Let him demonstrate his good will by addressing a letter to Saddam Hussein condemning his occupation of Kuwait and demanding an immediate and unconditional withdrawal.

MAHMOUD ABDEL KHALEK, Bossey, France.

Stop the Counterfeiters

Regarding "Pen Poised, Bush Awaits New Immigration Bill" (Oct. 30):

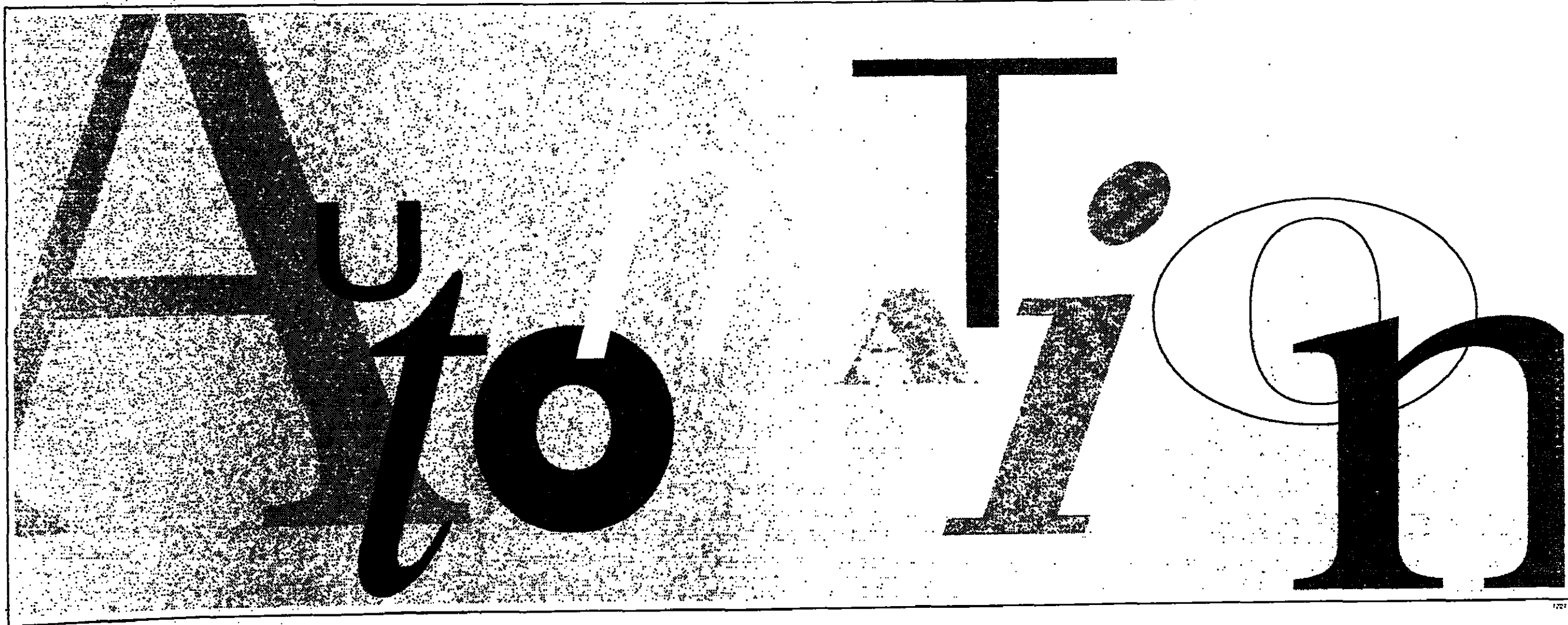
I was unhappy to read that Congress, under pressure from the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, stripped the bill of a provision that would have permitted states to test the use of more secure identification documents.

Last year, while I was working in California, I learned of a man who was stealing blank Social Security cards, giving them to undocumented workers, enabling them to be employed. When I anonymously called a Social Security office to report this, they didn't seem to want to know about it.

Countries like Sweden, Germany and Switzerland have tamper-resistant record documents. The United States needs to control its borders. Stopping such counterfeiting would help.

FRANK WALWORTH, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Looking after the Future



The air is pure again and the rivers clean once more. The airmail parcel reaches its correct destination and "Made In Germany" means quality.

AEG's state-of-the-art technology and highly qualified manpower solves the major and minor problems of our time — automatically. Geomatics, AEG's automa-

tion system creates order to suit everyone. It's an easy-to-operate system which can be combined with any other. Optimising a plant's potential

guarantees maximum efficiency, so saving energy, costs — and nerves! AEG's engineers and technicians are enthusiastically committed to develop tomorrow's inno-

vative systems today — so fulfilling their responsibility for our future.

Future is redefining automation.

HEALTH / SCIENCE

Sounding the Oceans On Global Warming

Speed of Underwater Pulses Is Key

By Malcolm W. Browne
New York Times Service

By sending pulses of underwater sound around the world through all five of its ocean basins, scientists hope to find out if the predicted "greenhouse" effect has begun to warm the planet.

The experiment, described by an organizer in a recent lecture, is scheduled to begin in January. It will exploit the fact that the speed of sound in water depends on the water temperature: the warmer, the faster.

Any significant change in the speed at which sound travels thousands of miles of seawater would mean a change in the average temperature of the water through which the sound passed.

Although scientists generally agree on the theory of greenhouse warming, which holds that various gases like carbon dioxide trap heat in the atmosphere, debate continues as to whether the increases in these gases have actually begun to warm the global climate.

Climatologists believe that the atmosphere and oceans are climatically coupled, each influencing the other's temperature. If so, any long-term warming of the atmosphere would be associated with a warming of the oceans.

Dr. Walter Munk of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography in La Jolla, California, is a leading organizer of the experiment, which is supported by eight nations as well as several U.S. governmental and university organizations.

In the trial about to begin, a small ship will anchor near Heard Island, an Australian possession in the southern Indian Ocean. An underwater loudspeaker will be lowered to a depth of 250 meters (about 820 feet), and for nine days the speaker will broadcast signals consisting of very low notes transmitted at high volume.

Dr. Munk said in an interview that Heard Island was picked for its location. From there, direct paths extend through each of the world's five oceans, and sound conducted along these paths should be audible to acoustic sensors thousands of miles away.

UNDERWATER microphones will be installed at Australia's Mawson Station in Antarctica, near Bermuda and San Francisco, and along the coasts of South Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

Scientists cannot predict how loud the signal will be when it reaches any of these points, but they believe it will be picked up by sensitive equipment. The distances between Heard Island and the various microphones are all known precisely, so that careful measurement of the time an acoustic signal takes to reach a sensor will permit calculation of the average speed over the course.

The speed of sound in water is roughly a mile a second, but it is altered by temperature, salinity, currents, and the degree to which water is compressed at increasing

depths. But temperature is the major factor over long distances, Dr. Munk said.

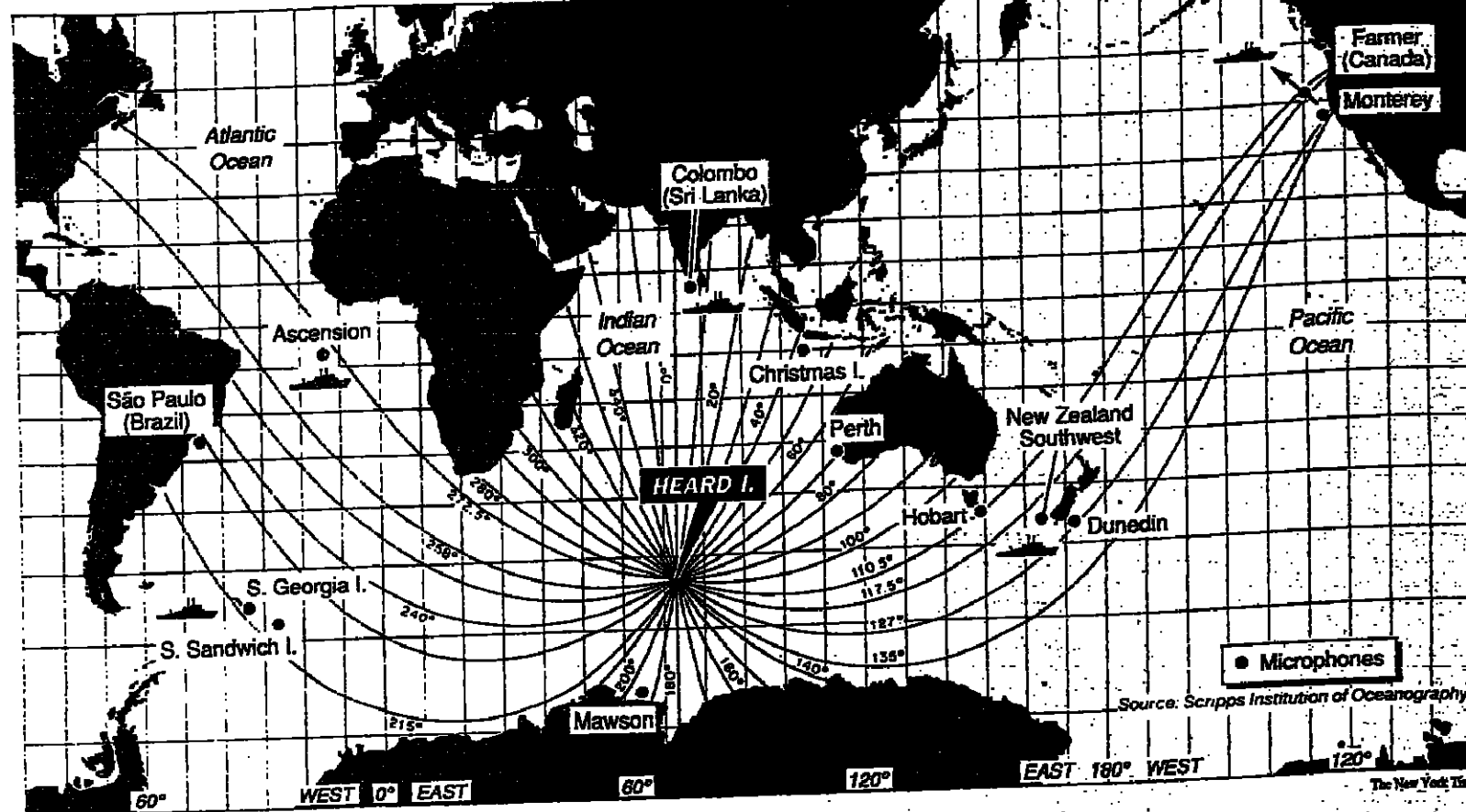
He and his colleagues intend to send a signal around the world using a pulse of sound that starts out no louder than that of a jet airplane taking off. To transmit this relatively modest noise over thousands of miles, the group will exploit a "sound axis," a layer of ocean water extending through all the world's oceans.

This layer acts as a conduit for sound, somewhat as the rubber tube of a stethoscope transmits faint noises from a patient's chest to a doctor's ear. The sound signal, which will be broadcast at frequencies from 50 to 70 hertz (near the lower limit of human hearing), will emanate from the special loudspeaker at the appropriate depth at that point in the ocean.

The conduit's depth varies in different parts of the world, exceeding 3,000 feet in places. To send or receive sound through the conduit, the microphone or transmitter must be positioned within the waveguide.

Dr. Peter F. Worcester, a research oceanographer at Scripps, explained that the sound axis is a form of waveguide—a space that confines sound between two natural boundaries, preventing it from dissipating upward or downward. The upper boundary of this conduit is called a thermocline, a division between ocean layers above which the water is relatively warm and below which it is much cooler.

The lower boundary of the



waveguide is another natural division resulting from compression of the water. Below this boundary, the high degree of compression begins to increase the speed of sound significantly.

THE waveguide thus consists of a world-girdling layer of water in which sound travels relatively slowly, both above it and below it. The speed of sound is higher. Because of these discontinuities above and below the ocean layer, sound moving through it tends to stay within the natural waveguide.

The sound from the Heard I.

land loudspeaker will start at 209 decibels. A jet airplane taking off generates about 270 decibels. But while the sound of a jet engine through air fades out in tens of miles, a sound moving through an oceanic waveguide can travel to the other side of the world.

Much fainter sounds than that of Dr. Munk's loudspeaker propagate over large distances through the oceanic waveguide, and some naturalists believe that deep-diving marine mammals may use the sound guide as a channel for acoustic communication and for tracking prey.

Some environmental groups

are concerned that an underwater signal might disturb the behavior of these animals, perhaps disrupting migratory patterns," Dr. Munk said. "We are naturally concerned and are investigating all possible environmental problems, but we believe that our experiment will not cause problems."

Because of their remarkable ability to conduct sound, oceans are extremely noisy. But sounds produced by human beings have significantly increased ocean noise in recent decades. One source of noise is the use of explosives to sound pulses of sound into the ocean floor, thereby producing

echoes permitting the mapping of sedimentary layers.

One critic of noises produced by humans is Dr. Arthur A. Myrberg Jr., a marine biologist at the University of Miami.

"Such noise," he wrote in a recent report, "when added to the oceans' own inherent noise levels, could well create difficulties for those animals that use the acoustic channel for communication and interception."

Dr. Munk believes that some fears by environmentalists greatly overestimate the hazards to marine wildlife, but that in any case,

the Heard Island experiment will proceed cautiously. He said that the purpose of the nine-day January experiment will be merely to determine the feasibility of a full-scale experiment that would continue for 10 years.

"There have been estimates that it would take 100 years of measurements of the atmosphere to achieve 95 percent certainty that the greenhouse effect is, or is not, operating," he said. Measurements of ocean temperature change should yield the same degree of certainty in 10 years. "Surely, that is information the world needs," he said.

IN BRIEF

Faulty Thermometer Of the Ancient Seas?

NEW YORK (NYT)—A method using fossils of small marine animals called brachiopods to determine the temperature of ancient oceans may be flawed, new research suggests.

Brachiopods, which have been around for nearly 600 million years, are similar in size to small clams. They have two shells made of low-magnesium calcium carbonate. Some geologists have thought that the oxygen isotope ratios in these stable shells can be a reliable indicator of the seawater temperature that existed when the animals were alive.

But two geologists at the University of Michigan, Scott J. Carpenter and K. C. Lohmann, analyzed modern brachiopods and found a

great deal of variability in how accurately their oxygen isotopic compositions reflect known ocean temperatures and water oxygen isotope ratios. In some cases, the method produced overestimates of sea temperature by about 25 degrees Fahrenheit (14 degrees Celsius). The findings were reported at a recent meeting of the Geological Society of America.

Reporting Increases For Alzheimer's

ATLANTA (AP)—Federal health researchers tracking a dramatic rise in reported deaths from Alzheimer's disease say more awareness of the malady, rather than a sharp rise in its incidence, is the main reason.

"It's a little difficult to believe that the number of people with

Alzheimer's disease could increase 10 percent in eight years," said Dr. Richard S. Smith, an epidemiologist at the U.S. Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta.

The Centers said that 11,311 people per 100,000 population died from Alzheimer's in 1987. In 1979, the first year of a study, 857 deaths per 100,000 were attributed to the disease.

Genes Transferred In Cholesterol Study

WASHINGTON (AP)—Researchers experimenting with laboratory rabbits have proved that gene manipulation can be used to correct an inherited disorder that causes high cholesterol levels and early heart attacks.

In a study published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, researchers said that they transferred into rabbit liver cells a gene that temporarily corrected a genetic defect called familial hypercholesterolemia. The disorder is caused by an abnormal gene that prevents the liver from processing low-density lipoprotein cholesterol, so-called bad cholesterol.

Dr. James Wilson, assistant professor of internal medicine at the University of Michigan, said that he and his co-investigators found that within three days of the gene transfer, the cholesterol levels of the treated rabbits dropped to near normal. After two weeks, however, it appeared that the transplanted cells were killed by the rabbits' immune systems. When the cells died, so did the transferred genes.

Where Is the Truth In Child's Memory?

In Sex Abuse Cases, Researchers Debate Methods of Securing Accurate Testimony

By Daniel Goleman
New York Times Service

AN article of faith among many authorities investigating sexual abuse of children, that "they do not make these things up," is coming under fire as some researchers find that young children can be readily influenced by those who question them. The debate hinges on just how suggestible young children are. The issue is crucial in thousands of cases, the vast majority involving sexual abuse, in which a child is the sole witness or the most important one.

But there have been few scientific studies on the subject, and most involved innocent situations. Only within the last two years, for example, have researchers sought to study situations in which a young child is called upon to remember unusual actions of an adult stranger. Many of these projects have reached contradictory conclusions.

At the center of the legal dispute are the interview methods used with very young children by investigators, usually police officers or child abuse workers. One of the most common, in which children are asked to show what happened to them using anatomically explicit dolls, is under sharp legal and scientific attack. Another method, in which researchers closely analyze the accounts children give, is put forward as a substitute, but advocates of the dolls say this method is flawed, too.

Many researchers complain that the issue has become so emotionally charged that it has begun to bias experiments and reviews of scientific literature, particularly among scientists who offer expert testimony for prosecutors or defendants. "It's regrettable that scientists have gotten involved in testifying in child sex abuse cases because once you get involved you tend to become an advocate," said Stephen Ceci, a psychologist at Cornell University who studies the suggestibility of children.

Adding to the confusion is the fact that the studies that are most directly relevant to sexual abuse of children have been conducted only in the last year or two, and most of these have yet to be published. Many will appear in "The Suggestibility of Children's Recollections," to be published early next year by the American Psychological Association.

Still, the need for clarification is urgent, forensic psychologists agree. A study commissioned by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect found that 155,000 cases were reported in 1986, the most recent year for which national statistics are available. But because most cases are not reported, the actual prevalence is probably 6 to 10 times that number, said David Finkelhor, director of the Family Research Laboratory at the University of New Hampshire.

BUT studies have also found that many charges of sexual abuse are false, especially those made in divorce and custody battles. A 1986 article in *The Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry* found that among allegations of sexual abuse made by children in custody disputes, 36 percent were false.

"In such cases one parent, usually the mother, becomes convinced the other has taken sexual liberties with a child, who is then encouraged to repeat the accusations," said Spencer Eth, a child psychiatrist at the University of California at Los Angeles. Those making the first, often crucial investigation of possible sexual abuse must tread a fine legal line between coaxing a coherent account from a youngster, who may not have words or an understanding of what went on, and asking leading questions that will contaminate the account so that it cannot be used as evidence.

"The danger is that the child's first and possibly most accurate interview may be tainted by mistakes in how it is conducted," said Dr. Eth.

In a study by Karen Seywitz, a psychologist at UCLA, and Gail Goodman, a psychologist at the State University of New York at Buffalo, not yet published, the researchers interviewed 72 girls 5 and 7 after routine physical examinations, which for half of them included vaginal and anal exams. The girls were first asked only what happened, then they were asked to show what happened by pointing to anatomically explicit dolls.

FINALLY, the researchers asked "did the doctor touch you here," pointing to genital areas on the dolls. Just eight misreported the vaginal exams in their free recall, and another six showed it spontaneously when they were given the dolls and asked to tell what happened. But when asked directly about the



Dr. Karen Smith works with child on recall project.

genital area of the doll, 31 of 36 who had the exam confirmed it. "If you did that in a legal investigation, you'd be told it's a leading question," said Dr. Goodman. "The rub is that it shows if you don't ask, you very likely won't find out."

None of the other 36 girls who did not have the vaginal exams claimed they did until they were asked directly about it with the doll. At that point, three claimed they had vaginal or anal exams, including one who made up the detail, "the doctor did it with a stick." That shows, said Dr. Goodman, that if an interviewer does ask such leading questions, "you may get some false reports."

Critics charge that the anatomically explicit dolls are too often used carelessly—for instance, with the investigator showing the child the naked, sexually explicit doll before the child makes any mention of sexual activity. This, many researchers contend, can lead children to talk about sexual acts that did not happen but which then become fixed in their mind as part of their memory of the event.

On the other hand, many child therapists argue that the dolls are a valid way to draw from young children accounts of acts they may not have words for or are too timid to describe, and that children who have not been exposed to sex are unlikely to engage in sexual play with the dolls.

In response to the need for a more objective interview method, the National Institute of Child Health and Development has begun a study to validate an alternative. The method, called "statement validity analysis," has been in use for more than 30 years in German courts, and more recently in Sweden.

In this technique, interviewers scrupulously try to avoid leading questions while they encourage children to tell about what happened. The account is then analyzed for internal clues to its truthfulness, like the presence or absence of vivid detail. For instance, a 10-year-old girl's account of being molested by a neighbor began: "I went to his house to use his phone because we haven't got one right now, and he said I could, so I used his phone and I called a guy named Willy because my mom was gone and I wanted to see if she was there."

Such passages lend credibility because they give a specific, realistic context for the subsequent events, while fabricated accounts typically do not mention what was going on apart from the molestation.

Some forensic psychiatrists object that statement validity analysis is biased against child witnesses. "The statement validity analysis seems designed to discredit the child's account of sexual abuse," said Dr. Eth. "I tend to believe the child in such cases."

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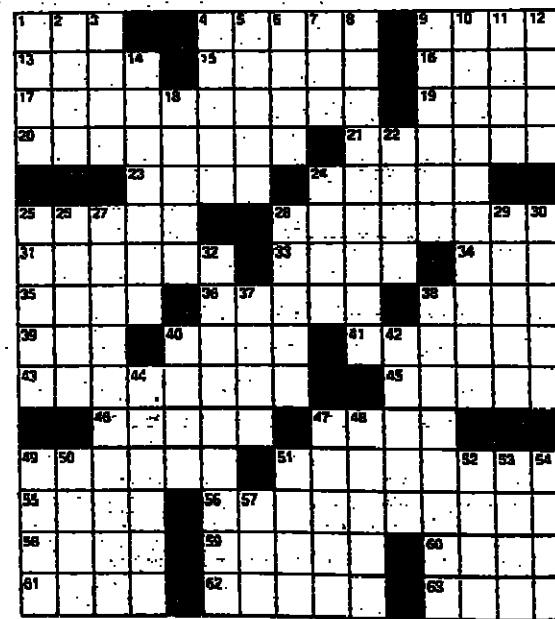
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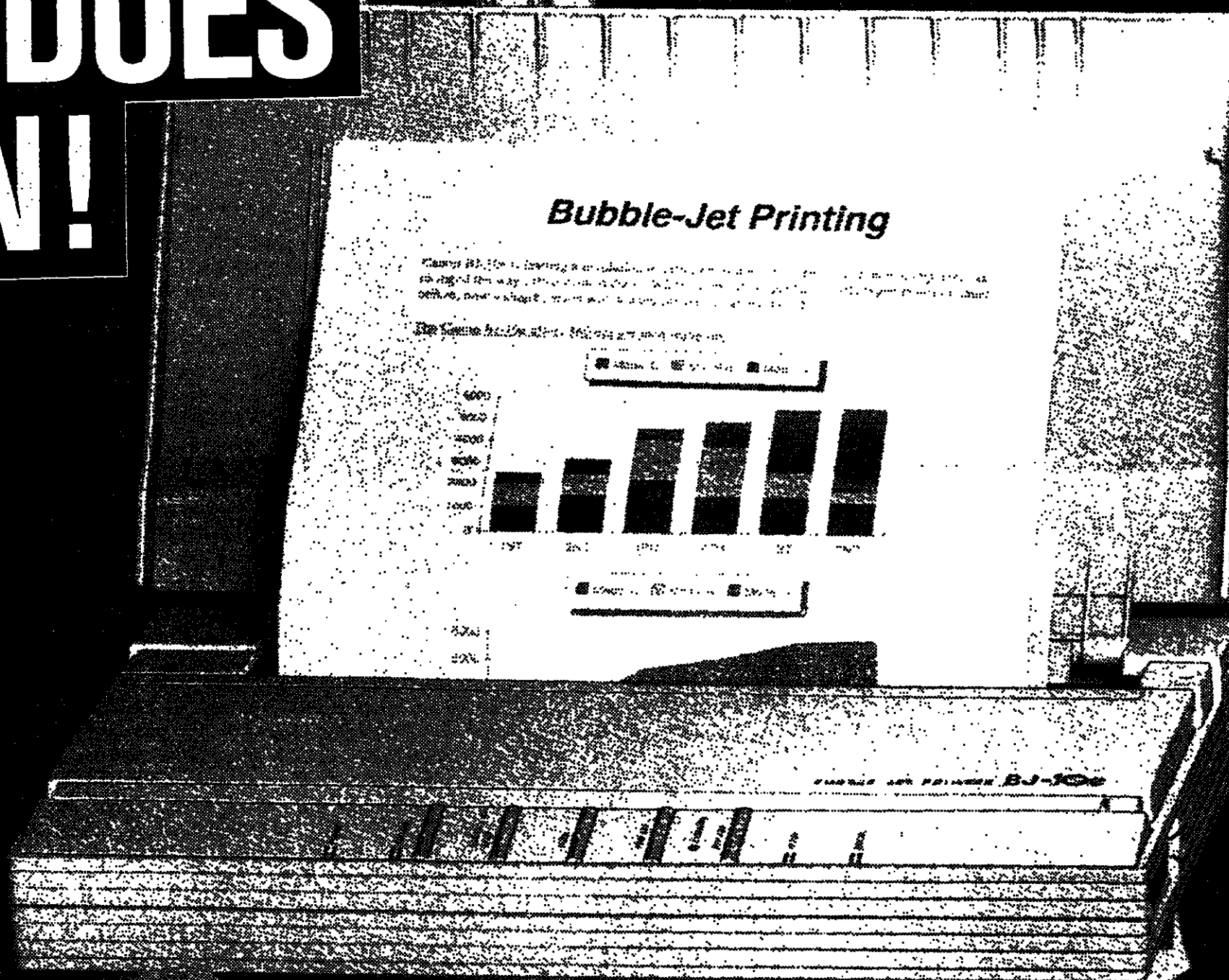
ACROSS
1 Alias
4 Tasty
9 Lionized lion
13 Van Patten role
in TV's "Mama"
15 Papal cape
16 Hen pen
17 Snake handle
19 Ten square
chairs
20 --- Mather,
clergyman
Harvard
president
21 Fat pig
23 Actor in "Pretty
Lady"
24 Ranch in
"Giant"
25 A colleague of
Reasoner
28 Tasso's
birthplace
31 Beldams
32 Printer product
34 Joanne of
moves
35 License, e.g.
36 Did some
whittling
38 Vail gear
39 County, in
Denmark
40 Swedish miler
Andersson
41 A. M.
Lundberg's
"North to the
---"
43 Jack London's
pet
45 Writer Seton et
al.
46 Canched
47 Flex
49 Make a choice
51 Wams
55 Original site of
U. of Nevada
56 At an impasse
58 Encumbrance
59 Common
practice
60 Southwestern
stewpot
61 What "walls
have"
62 To put, in Peru
63 Type of vaccine
Solution to Previous Puzzle
TERMS HOPS CAD
SLEEP ALICE BALI
ALINE LIRA UNIV
RENDEZVOUS RACE
DEE CALLER
WINDIED PEACE
AMEER CORPUSCLE
GARD MARIE QUIT
ENDURANCE TUBER
TENTH CREASE
SALAMI VITA
ALAN COMEDienne
MORT UPIN PLEAD
BOIRE RENT SLAVE
ANY ENDS EATEN
DOWN
1 "The Breeze"
at --- 1940
song
2 "Ol' Man River"
composer
3 Actor Baldwin
4 Kind of energy
5 End of a Stein
line
6 Tempo
7 Kind
8 Outlaw
9 Card game for
two
10 Under ---
(securely shut
in)
11 Tender
12 Mimic
14 "El Jaleo"
painter
16 Maker of early
steel plows
22 Like a swan's
feet
24 Thespian's
delight
25 "Beat it!"
26 Redolence
27 G.I.'s small
trunk
28 Ran-tan
29 Frank Norris
character
30 Winkles out
32 Made neat and
trim
37 Prefix with
chamber or
chapel
38 Agents of
corporations
40 Surrounded by
42 Totaled, as a bill
44 Some storms
47 Boy Scout's
ment ---
48 A lunar crater
49 Cancel
50 Famed pen
name
51 He played
Sonny in "The
Godfather"
53 Dudley
Do-Right's
sweetheart
54 Mt. Rushmore's
here
57 Inner Prefix



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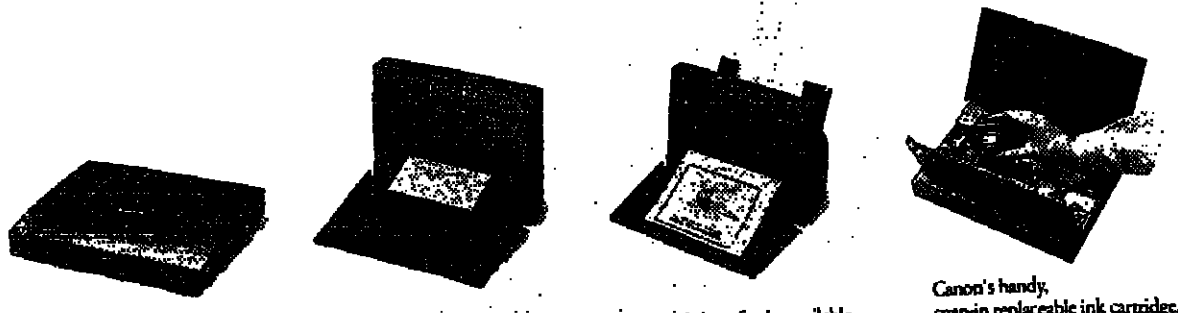


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MARKET DIARY

Surge in Oil Sends Wall Street Falling

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
NEW YORK — The stock market fell sharply Wednesday in light trading, under pressure from a fresh rise in oil prices.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which lost 17.08 points Tuesday, sank 44.31 to 2,440.84.

Broader indices also fell sharply. The New York Stock Exchange's composite index dropped 2.74 to

Waste Management was the most active issue, down 1 1/4 to 31 1/4, extending Tuesday's slide. The company joined Browning-Ferris Monday in settling an antitrust lawsuit alleging price-fixing in the waste-container business. Browning-Ferris followed, plunging 2 1/4 to 2 1/4 on top of a 6-point plunge Tuesday, when it reported a 55 percent drop in quarterly earnings after taking a special charge to cover settlement of the litigation.

BankAmerica was third, off 1 1/4 to 21. MCA dropped 1 1/4 to 6 1/4 following a big fire overnight at the company's Universal Studios near Los Angeles. MCA said it believed its loss was fully covered by insurance.

Among the blue chips, AT&T lost 1 to 33 3/4. IBM fell 1 1/4 to 106 1/4. General Electric lost 1 1/4 to 52 and Philip Morris slid 1 to 47 1/4. (UPI, AP)

London Posts Loss
London's International Stock Exchange said a low level of trading activity contributed to an after-tax loss of £117,000 (£231,000) in the six months ended Sept. 28, compared with a profit of £9.2 million in the same period a year earlier. Reuters reported from London.

Stock prices eroded during the morning on profit taking, then fell sharply after midday in reaction to a surge in oil prices. Oil rose more than \$2.70 a barrel following an address in Britain's Parliament by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who warned Iraq to get out of Kuwait or face military action.

RATES: Yield Is Lowest This Year

(Continued from first finance page)

Treasury bond market, dealers said that they passed on only about 5 to 10 percent of the three-year notes to Japanese investors and the same percentage, or less, of the 10-year notes. "We shot our wad yesterday," said Carol Stone of Nomura Securities.

In the past, Japanese participation of 20 percent to 30 percent had been normal. But now, interest rates abroad are climbing while dollar rates fall, making dollar bonds less attractive. Also, Ms. Stone said, "Japanese institutions have had big losses, and they are keeping their money at home."

The Treasury will raise another \$10.75 billion Thursday with an

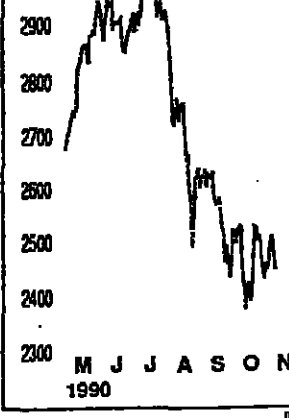
auction of its bellwether 30-year bonds. Dealers forecast they will sell at a yield of about 8.65 percent. That would be down from 8.75 percent at August's auction and below the market high of 9.08 percent reached a month ago, but not as low as 30-year bonds were before Iraq invaded Kuwait.

The Treasury this week also is auctioning \$31 billion in bills of 161 days and 13 and 26 weeks. With such a heavy calendar, the government did all it could to entice borrowers to buy.

The Wall Street Journal reported Wednesday that unidentified Federal Reserve officials were pessimistic about the economy, implying that they were ready to lower short-term rates at the next meeting of the Federal Open Market Committee on Nov.

The Dow

Daily closings of the Dow Jones industrial average



NYSE Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
IBM	106 1/4	106 1/4	106 1/4	-1 1/4
AT&T	33 3/4	33 3/4	33 3/4	-1
General Electric	52	52	52	-1 1/4
Philip Morris	47 1/4	47 1/4	47 1/4	-1
Waste Management	31 1/4	31 1/4	31 1/4	-1 1/4
Browning-Ferris	2 1/4	2 1/4	2 1/4	-2 1/4
BankAmerica	21	21	21	-1 1/4
MCA	6 1/4	6 1/4	6 1/4	-1 1/4

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BankAmerica	21	21	21	-1 1/4
MCA	6 1/4	6 1/4	6 1/4	-1 1/4

Dow Jones Averages

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Indus	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-44 3/4
Transp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-11 1/4
Comp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-12 1/4

Standard & Poor's Indexes

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Indus	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-44 3/4
Transp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-11 1/4
Comp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-12 1/4

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NASDAQ Indexes

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Indus	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-44 3/4
Transp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-11 1/4
Comp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-12 1/4

AMEX Stock Index

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Indus	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-44 3/4
Transp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-11 1/4
Comp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-12 1/4

Dow Jones Bond Averages

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Indus	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-44 3/4
Transp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-11 1/4
Comp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-12 1/4

Market Sales

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Indus	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-44 3/4
Transp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-11 1/4
Comp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-12 1/4

N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Indus	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-44 3/4
Transp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-11 1/4
Comp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-12 1/4

S&P 100 Index Options

Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Indus	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-44 3/4
Transp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-11 1/4
Comp	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	2438 1/8	-12 1/4

Amex Diary

205	4 3/4	5	4 1/2	20 1/2	18	17 1/2
210	3 1/2	3 1/2	3 1/2	24	22	24 1/2
215	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	30	26 1/2	—
220	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	32	28	31
225	—	—	—	—	23 1/2	—
230	—	—	—	—	35 1/2	—
235	—	—	—	—	—	—
240	—	—	—	—	—	—
245	—	—	—	—	—	—

Calls: total vol. 149,787; total open int. 457,277

Renault-Volvo Link Is Cleared

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
BRUSSELS — The EC Commission said Wednesday it had cleared the proposed alliance between France's Renault and Volvo AB of Sweden, which will make the joint operation the world's biggest heavy-truck maker and seventh-largest vehicle manufacturer.

The Commission told the companies, however, that they would have to seek fresh clearance if they want to integrate their automobile operations beyond the degree that is planned currently.

The deal, announced by the companies in February, needs no further national approval.

Under the plan, Renault will take a 25 percent stake in Volvo Car and 45 percent of Volvo Truck, as well as purchasing 10 percent in the parent Volvo AB on the market.

Volvo will take 20 percent of Renault, with an option to take 5 percent more, and 45 percent of RVL, Renault's truck and bus unit.

The Commission said the link-up in trucks and buses would not impede competition in the European Community. In cars, the alliance involves less integration and does

not create enough concentration to fall under the Commission's merger powers, it said.

Although a Commission spokesman said the companies would need a new clearance to tighten cooperation on cars further, he added that the Commission was unlikely to oppose such a move.

The alliance envisions the companies making joint decisions for both cars and heavy vehicles, and

GM Plans to Assemble Cars in Czechoslovakia

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
ZURICH — General Motors (Europe) AG said Wednesday it has signed a protocol with the Slovak Republic to set up a vehicle assembly and transmission venture in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia.

The venture with Bratislava's Automobilove Zavody would use RAZ's existing plant. Beginning in late 1992, it would produce up to 250,000 car transmissions for export and assembly. Opel cars for sale in Czechoslovakia.

(Reuters, UPI, AFP)

combining purchasing, research and investment capacity.

They will keep their separate names but use the same engines and components in trucks and buses.

The need to cut costs to remain competitive was underscored Wednesday when a Renault union representative said the company planned to lay off more than 4,700 employees in 1991, reducing the work force to about 63,100. A spokesman for Renault, which has announced plans to cut 2,350 jobs this year, declined to comment.

In Stockholm, Volvo welcomed the decision and said the deal would take effect in January.

Spokesman Per Utterback said Volvo's net payment to Renault of 6.8 billion kroner (\$1.22 billion), to be paid when the deal takes effect, could be adjusted over the next couple of years by as much as 1 billion kroner either way, depending on the profits of the two car divisions.

The Renault-Volvo alliance was the first cleared by the Commission under its recently expanded powers to oversee large mergers among EC companies.

Arjomari Said To Plan Link With Wiggins

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — The paper makers Arjomari-Prioux of France and Wiggins Teape Appleton PLC of Britain plan a link-up, a source at Groupe Saint-Louis, which owns about 40 percent of Arjomari, said Wednesday.

The source, who declined to be identified, would give no details of what she called a " rapprochement."

She spoke after shares in Arjomari and Wiggins Teape were suspended in Paris and London.

Some analysts speculated that Wiggins Teape might sell its 42.8 percent stake in the Portuguese pulp mill Sopocor to Arjomari. Wiggins Teape, which was floated off from BAT Industries PLC earlier this year, said in September that it was considering the sale of its stake.

(Reuters, AFP)

Swiss Bank Expects Fall In Earnings This Year

Reuters

ZURICH — Swiss Bank Corp. suffered a fall in profit in the first nine months of the year and is unlikely to make up the lost ground in the final quarter, its chief executive Walter Fehrer said Wednesday.

Mr. Fehrer said at a news conference that cash flow in the first nine months of 1990 was down 13 percent from a year earlier.

"It seems out of the question — not just unlikely as is written in my prepared text — that we can make good the profit fall of the first nine months by the end of the year," he said.

Mr. Fehrer said a more precise forecast is impossible because of the political uncertainties created since Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2. Last year, Swiss Bank, the country's second-biggest bank, earned a net profit of 749.5 million Swiss francs (\$399.8 million).

Mr. Fehrer said the bank's earnings from brokerage commissions and syndication fees had been hit hard by the Gulf crisis and

the value of its own securities holdings had fallen.

In addition, earnings from currency and banknote trading in the first nine months of the year were slightly below year-earlier levels, while earnings from its precious-metals business had slumped drastically, he added.

Mr. Fehrer said Swiss Bank's London operation had operated at a profit in the first quarter but then fell back into the red under the pressure of high British interest rates.

"We hope that if interest rates fall, we shall get a breakthrough at last into the black," he said.

Allied Irish Banks

Allied Irish Banks reported Wednesday that its first-half pretax profit rose 10 percent, but warned that economic weakness would pressure results for the rest of the year. Reuters reported from Dublin.

In the six months ended Sept. 30, Allied Irish said its pretax profit rose just over 10 percent to 121.3 million Irish punts (\$218.3 million).

Investor's Europe

Frankfurt DAX	London FTSE 100 Index	Paris CAC 40
2000	2450	2200
1800	2250	2000
1600	2050	1800
1400	1850	1600
1200	1650	1400
J A S O N	J A S O N	J A S O N
1990	1990	1990
Exchange	Index	Wednesday Prev. %
		Close Close Change
Amsterdam	CBS Trend	93.60 94.40 -0.85
Brussels	Stock Index	5185.49 5197.85 -0.24
Frankfurt	DAX	1371.15 1398.24 -1.94
Frankfurt	FAZ	598.51 611.44 -2.11
Helsinki	UNITAS	409.20 408.70 +0.12
London	Financial Times 30	1590.50 1598.90 -0.53
London	FTSE 100	2059.20 2069.80 -0.51
Madrid	General Index	228.53 229.54 -0.44
Milan	MIB	783.80 802.40 -2.32
Paris	CAC 40	1583.46 1613.49 -1.86
Stockholm	Affarsvariden	837.03 855.33 -2.14
Vienna	Stock Index	509.61 517.08 -1.44
Zurich	SBS	520.50 523.50 -0.57

Sources: Reuters, AFP

International Herald Tribune

Moulinex Wooing Krups

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Moulinex SA, the French maker of electrical household appliances, disclosed Wednesday that it is discussing the acquisition of Krups AG with the German small-appliance maker's family owners.

Moulinex's director general, Roland Darnean, confirmed that talks are underway but added in an interview with the French daily, La Tribune de l'Expansion, "we are not the only candidates" to seek Krups, whose products range from coffee-grinders to dental-hygiene appliances. The identity of other potential buyers was not known.

No purchase price was indicated. Krups has annual sales equivalent to about 1.7 billion French francs (\$340 million), Moulinex said. The French concern, which has been seeking overseas expansion, posted a net loss of 25 million francs in the first half of this year. For the full year, Moulinex expects a net profit of 153 million francs — about the same as in 1989 — on sales of 6 billion francs.

Moulinex reportedly picked Krups as an expansion vehicle over considerably cheaper Eastern European options, preferring an established base in Germany.

GERMANY: Long Haul on East

(Continued from page 1)

duction in the West and set up distribution operations in the East.

So far the Treuhandsanstalt, the trust founded to privatize as much of East Germany's industrial establishment as possible, has sold off only 200 of about 8,000 units.

Economists say all of this means that eastern Germany's path toward the prosperity levels of western Germany will take more time than early optimists had hoped.

Alfred Herrhausen, who was president of Deutsche Bank AG when he was killed by a bomb a

year ago, predicted that equal living standards could be achieved in as little as five years, but most analysts have since begun to envision a few zones of rapid growth surrounded by broader regions which may need long-term structural help.

"Saxony and Thuringia in the southern part of East Germany have a long tradition of industry and may revive fairly quickly," Mr. Schmidt said, "but much of the rest will lag behind and need help of the kind long needed in West Germany by the Ruhr area and in the ship-building areas of the far north."

Schering Profit Rose 12.9% In First 9 Months of 1990

Reuters

BERLIN — Schering AG, the German pharmaceutical company, said Wednesday that its net profit rose 12.9 percent to 202 million Deutsche marks (\$171.8 million) in the first nine months of 1990.

Klaus Pöhl, the Schering finance chief, said profit for the full year should exceed the 1989 level, but did not provide details. In 1989, Schering reported group net profit of 225 million DM.

Investors welcomed the results and Schering shares jumped by 13 DM to 691 in Frankfurt.

Mr. Pöhl said revenue had been

adversely affected by the mark's sharp gains against the yen and the dollar, and would rise only about 1 percent for the full year.

Schering reported that group revenue edged up to 4.53 billion DM from 4.30 billion a year earlier.

Giuseppe Vita, the Schering management board chairman, said the company was unlikely to raise its dividend this year because it faces a sharply higher tax burden due to the dismantling of government subsidies to the former West Berlin.

Before unification, the Bonn government subsidized industry in western Berlin heavily to lure investors to the city, which lies in the heart of what was East Germany.

Mr. Vita also said Schering is nearing a decision on a partner for its agrochemical business and expects to announce a joint venture in the sector early next year.

Mr. Vita said Schering had talked with European, U.S. and Japanese companies, but declined to give any names.

"We are at the stage where we must decide on one partner," Mr. Vita said, adding that the company announced its decision in early 1991. Schering started talks in June with other partners after its planned agrochemical venture with Switzerland's Sandoz AG fell through.

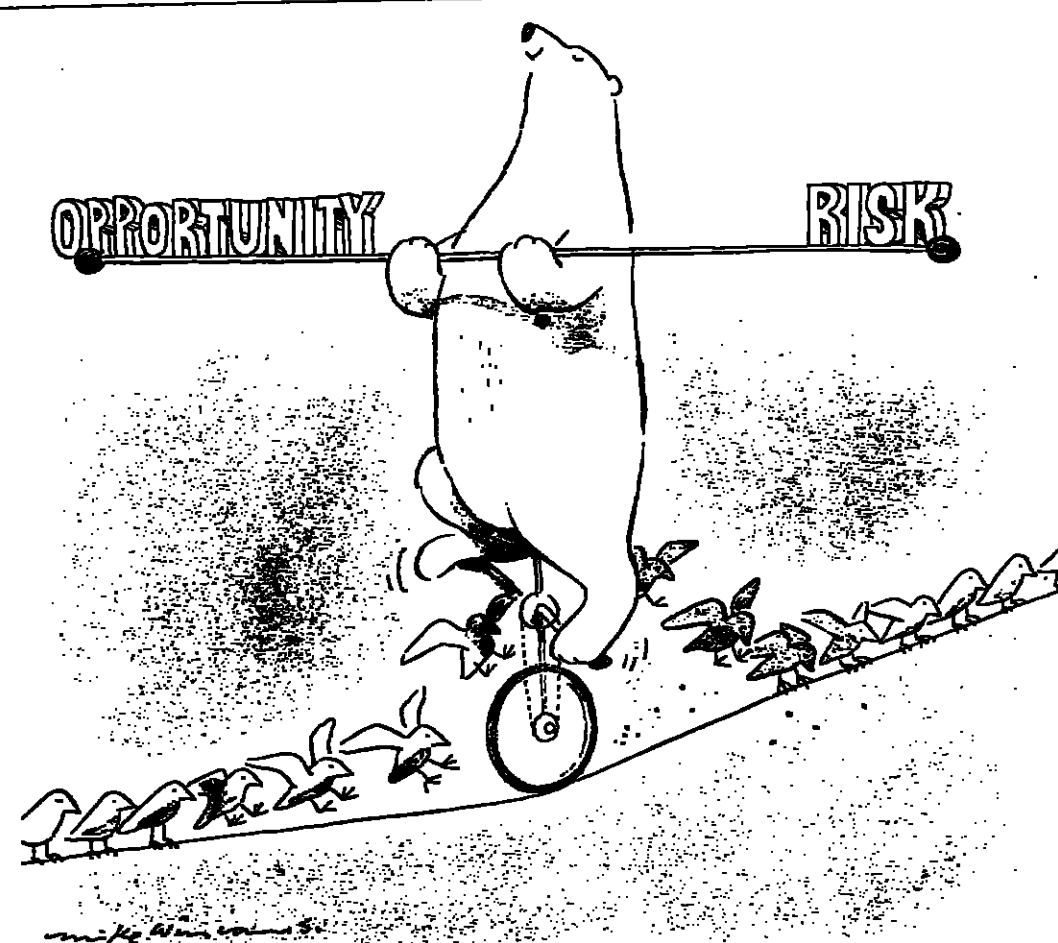
Daiwa Is Buying 5% Of French Brokerage

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — Daiwa Securities Co. will take a 5 percent stake in the French brokerage Oddo, the brokerage said Wednesday.

After a capital increase, Oddo's capital of 330 million francs (\$70 million) will be held 51 percent by people close to the company, 25 percent by Assurances Generales de France, 17 percent by Italian and French institutions and 5 percent by Daiwa.

(Reuters, AFP)



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- when distributed
- when issued
- with warrants
- ex-dividend or ex-rights
- is ex-distribution
- without warrants
- ex-dividend and sales in full
- yield

SPORTS

The 49ers: Right Up With the NFL Greats

By Ken Denlinger

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — More and more, the significant games the San Francisco 49ers play are against the ghosts of the National Football League. Are the 49ers, winners of four Super Bowls and now 16 straight games, as good as Vince Lombardi's 1962 Green Bay Packers? The '78 Pittsburgh Steelers? The team whose style they most resemble, the Cleveland Browns of the early '50s?

Many who have seen football — and football teams — evolve rank the 49ers with the very best. For one season. For all seasons.

"No one has been more impressive," said Jim Finks, the president and general manager of the New Orleans Saints, and a man whose career as a professional player and executive spans five decades. "They've met every test better than any club I'm aware of."

Anyone who compares football teams from different eras knows the exercise is nearly as foolish as it is fun. But that doesn't muzzle opinions.

Pro football wasn't even full-time employment for most players until the middle 1960s. So how could the original Monsters of the Midway, the early-1940s Chicago Bears, be on anyone's all-time short list? Because they lost only five games in four years.

One collection of fans, nearing 50, believes nobody could possibly beat the late-1950s Baltimore Colts. Perhaps, and to buttress that contention, those teams have six players and their coach, Weeb Ewbank, in the Pro Football Hall of Fame.

Has there been a quarterback superior to Johnny Unitas? A better pass-blocker than Jim Parker? A more elusive and well-rounded back than Lenny Moore? A more intimidating pass rusher than Gino Marchetti?

The heart says no. In reality, the Colts were 9-3 in 1958 and 1959 seasons before beating the New York Giants for the NFL title. In 1957 the Colts were 7-5, third in the Western Conference to two 8-4 outfits. From 1960 through 1963, the Colts never finished above third in their conference and won only four more games than they lost.

The quarterback for the ages, until Joe Montana stepped into the pocket, was not Johnny Unitas but the Cleveland Browns' Otto Graham. Ten seasons, 10 title games in two leagues. And, from 1950 through 1955, three NFL championships.

Graham's Browns were a lot like Montana's 49ers, much more celebrated on offense than defense. Still, in three of those six title-game seasons, the Browns allowed the fewest points in the league; the other three years they were second.

For undiminished success, there never has been anyone like Lombardi's Packers. In the eight-season stretch from 1960 through 1967, they played for the championship six times and won five. One of the two years they missed the playoffs, 1963, their regular-season record was 11-2-1.

(It should be remembered that, until 1970, there were no wild-card teams in the play-

offs. In addition to an 11-2-1 record failing to get the Packers into the postseason, the 1967 Colts missed out with an 11-1-2 mark.)

The debate about the Packers and their signature 1962 team essentially boils down to how various NFL watchers view the game.

"Talent is diluted now," said the Washington Redskins' defensive coach, Richie Petitbon, who played with the Bears in the early

draft in May. It's a 12-month operation now.

Petitbon: "It's a different game now. In the '60s, you still had to block and stuff. Now, it's like tag-touch. Everybody's passing. You can't rush the passer, or do much with the receivers, either."

Still, the cream stays on top. The unbeaten 1972 Miami Dolphins beat the team with the

in the Super Bowl, Wondrou as was the offense, with Terry Bradshaw, Franco Harris and Lynn Swann, the Joe Greene-Jack Ham-Jack Lambert defense probably was superior.

In a computer matchup of great teams made by NFL Films, the '78 Steelers beat the '72 Dolphins in the finals. This was puzzling as well as frustrating to the Dolphins' coach, Don Shula, who could not imagine a computer picking an unbeaten team to lose.

"We also interviewed 19 people," said Steve Sabol of NFL Films, "and the overwhelming majority also picked the Steelers."

For one team for one year, historian Sabol would choose among the 1962 Packers, the 1978 Steelers and one of the most recent 49ers. Perhaps the 15-1 team of 1984 that won its two NFC playoff games by a combined 44-10 and beat the 14-2 Dolphins in the Super Bowl by 38-16; perhaps the present one humming along unbeaten.

"Had the 49ers played the Steeler defense," Petitbon said, "who knows? I'll take the Steelers, although the 49ers do have some Hall of Fame players."

Who on defense, besides safety Ronnie Lott?

"Nobody," Petitbon admitted. "But you've got Jerry Rice and Montana. And you probably can make a case for Roger Craig."

Like the Browns three decades ago, the 1984 49ers quietly allowed 21 fewer points than anyone else in the NFL. Their overall ratio, points scored against points allowed, in the three-game run through the NFC playoffs and the Super Bowl last season was 126-26.

Still, beyond the 49ers' excellence, even beyond their place in history, is this hopeful message: Teams as good, or better, will come along. Surprisingly soon. They always have.



The 49ers of Joe Montana (left) have won 16 straight, but Otto Graham got the Browns to 10 straight title games.



1960s and later for the Los Angeles Rams and Redskins. "Teams were better when you had 12 teams."

The league expanded to 14 teams in 1960 and now has 28.

"There are more good teams now and more good players," Finks said. "There is more of a professional attitude by more teams than there was during that era. After December back then, some teams didn't do much until the

best record in the National Conference, the Redskins, in the Super Bowl; the next year, the 12-2 Dolphins whipped the 12-2 Minnesota Vikings in the Super Bowl.

In two of their four Super Bowl victories over a six-year period in the '70s, the Steelers beat the team with the best record in the NFC. Of those Steeler teams, the 1978 squad is considered the best. At 14-2, it was three games better than anyone else in the AFC that season and beat the 12-4 Dallas Cowboys

NFL Midpoint: Some Playoff Sureties, More Contenders

The Associated Press

Has there ever been a National Football League season when so many teams had virtually clinched playoff berths midway through?

Has there ever been an NFL season when so many teams could be in contention going into the last week?

Those contradictory questions are the essence of the NFL in 1990.

At the top are the San Francisco 49ers, seeking to become the first team to win three straight Super Bowls, and the New York Giants. Both are 8-0, the first time since 1934 — when Chicago and Detroit were 10-0 — that two teams have progressed this far unbeaten. It can even be argued that both have clinched playoff berths: 8-0 could well make it in the National Football Conference.

At the next rung are the 7-1 Chicago Bears, 3½ games ahead of Tampa Bay in the NFC Central. Put them in the playoffs along with the 7-1 Buffalo Bills and Miami Dolphins, one of whom will win

the American Football Conference East while the other will make it as a wild card.

And add the 6-2 Los Angeles Raiders, a game ahead of the Kansas City Chiefs in the AFC West. Only a complete collapse keeps the Raiders out.

Then chase: Only the Washington Redskins and Chiefs, at 5-3, look to be pretty good wild-card bets.

Keep this in mind for the 49ers, Giants and Bears: one will have to play a first-round playoff game because, under the new format, the division winner with the worst record has to play a wild-card team.

In fact, Chicago could have the edge over both the Giants and 49ers, who meet in San Francisco on Dec. 3. Because they collapsed to 6-10 last season, the Bears play a fourth-place schedule, meeting neither New York nor San Francisco, both of whom won their divisions last season.

On the other hand, that could work for New York and San Francisco. They don't have to play the Bears, who are methodically playing as well as anyone in the

league right now, even though their coach, Mike Ditka, keeps saying, "We're not on a level with those other two teams."

Here's a look at the races by division:

AFC EAST: Miami and Buffalo meet Dec. 23 in the final round. The winner probably takes the division, the other a wild-card bet. Believe it or not, it is not impossible for the New York Jets, 4-5, with a last-place schedule, to sneak in at 8-8. Write off the Indianapolis Colts (2-6) and New England Patriots (1-7).

AFC CENTRAL: Write off the Cleveland Browns (2-7), then try to figure out the rest of the pack. Make the Pittsburgh Steelers (tied at 5-4 with the Cincinnati Bengals) the favorite. They're coming on and Cincinnati's defense is porous and will be without its best player, David Fulcher, for six weeks. Houston (4-5) and streaky isn't out of the race.

AFC WEST: The Raiders and Chiefs should make the playoffs, though neither has Super Bowl quarterbacks. None of the other three teams — San Diego, Den-

Baseball Giants Fail on Vote for Santa Clara Park

The Associated Press

SANTA CLARA, California — Voters have rejected a tax-funded stadium for baseball's San Francisco Giants, casting doubt on the team's future in Northern California.

Voters in five Santa Clara County communities narrowly defeated Tuesday the 1 percent utility tax to finance a 45,000-seat, \$153 million ballpark that would have opened in 1994, replacing aging, windswept Candlestick Park.

San Francisco voters last year again rejected a new downtown ballpark, and the Giants, whose lease at Candlestick runs through 1992, reopened negotiations with officials in Santa Clara County, home of much of their fan base. The Giants' owner, Bob Lurie, has promised to sell the team or move it unless a stadium is approved.

■ '93 Super Bowl in Doubt

Arizona voters narrowly rejected a state holiday to honor Martin Luther King Jr. and may have lost the 1993 Super Bowl in the process, The Associated Press reported.

The NFL commissioner, Paul Tagliabue, said Wednesday that "I do not believe that playing Super Bowl XXVII in Arizona is in the best interests of the National Football League. I will recommend to the NFL clubs that this Super Bowl be played elsewhere."

Justice, a Late-Start, Is Voted Top NL Rookie

The Associated Press

ATLANTA — Dave Justice is among those wondering what he could have done in a full year for the Atlanta Braves. Then again, he's just glad he got to play at all.

Justice, who began the baseball season in the minor leagues, didn't get a chance to start full-time until Dale Murphy was traded in early August. But once he broke into the lineup, he broke loose, and Tuesday Justice won the National League rookie of the year award in a near-unanimous vote by two members of the Baseball Writers' Association of America in each National League city.

Justice hit 28 home runs, most of them after Murphy was traded to Philadelphia and right field opened up. He batted .282 with 78 runs batted in and 439 at-bats in 127 games.

He got 23 of 24 first-place votes for 118 points. Montreal second baseman Delino DeShields got the other first-place vote and had 60 points.

Cincinnati first baseman Hal Morris (13 points) was third, followed by San Francisco pitcher John Burkett (12), Chicago pitcher Mike Harkey (seven), St. Louis catcher Todd Zile (four) and Montreal outfielders Marcus Gissmon and Larry Walker (one each).

Justice had not figured prominently in Atlanta's plans, especially since the club had signed power-hitting free agent Nick Esasky. Then, in spring training, Justice was hit in the face by a ball and his nose and cheekbone were broken, requiring plastic surgery. When he healed, he started the year at Triple-A Richmond.

The Braves got off to a bad start and on May 16, brought up Justice and put him at first base, a position he had played only a few times in his pro career.

Justice, Atlanta's fourth-round choice in the 1985 draft, had hit only eight homers and was batting .243 when Murphy was traded and Justice was switched to right field.

In the outfield "my natural position ... I was able to concentrate on my hitting," he said.

Justice went on a tear and hit .335 with 20 home runs and 49 RBI for the rest of the season.

His late surge separated him from the rest of the rookies. DeShields was solid all season, batting .289 with 42 stolen bases. Morris hit .340 with 36 RBI in 309 at-bats and Burkett went 14-7.



Justice: Near-unanimous vote.

Royals Are First In Salaries, With Reds Only 16th

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — The Kansas City Royals are the kings of baseball, when it comes to paying their players.

The Royals, who finished sixth in the American League West with a 75-86 record despite spending millions last winter on free-agent pitchers Mark Davis and Storm Davis, had the top payroll in the majors this season at \$23,617,090, according to a study by management's Player Relations Committee.

The World Series champion Cincinnati Reds had the 16th-highest payroll at \$15,751,395.

The average baseball salary this season skyrocketed 19.8 percent to \$586,816, according to the study that was distributed Tuesday at a meeting of general managers at Scottsdale, Arizona. (See Scoreboard.)

The study, a copy of which was obtained by The Associated Press, includes prorated shares of signing bonuses and all earned performance bonuses, but not any extra money from postseason awards.

The study showed the sharpest increase was for players newly eligible for salary arbitration, those with between three and four years of major league service at the start of the 1990 season. Their salaries jumped 48.1 percent, from \$398,525 in 1989 to \$590,127 in 1990.

BOOKS

IN THE TIME OF THE TYRANTS: Panama, 1968-1990

By R. M. Koster and Guillermo Sanchez. 430 pages. \$22.95. W. W. Norton & Co., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10110.

Reviewed by James Polk

MANUEL Antonio Noriega, as we have frequently heard, has a lengthy American pedigree. Pinning down the exact details of his lineage, however, is more difficult. Was he on the payroll of the Drug Enforcement Administration? The Central Intelligence Agency? Army intelligence? All three? How exactly did Washington's secret machinations ease his way to the top? And what of private initiatives and warnings from American civilians? Sorting through all these strands is a daunting proposition.

In this timely and unsparring book, Guillermo Sanchez, a Panamanian newspaperman, and R. M. Koster, an American novelist and journalist with long experience in Panama, take on the task. Along the way, they offer a macabre catalogue of drug and arms smuggling, money laundering, repression, torture and murder, most of it paid for with Yankee dollars.

Traditionally, Washington's policy toward Central America had been to ally itself with the ruling monied classes, which kept things quiet and safe for

exploitation from the North. But the Cold War changed that, and by the '50s combating the great communist bugaboo required more guns than graft.

"The policy was stupid," say the authors with typical forthrightness, "so were those who made it," thus indicting all American presidents since Eisenhower.

As Washington began building up armies everywhere on the continent, no one seemed to care that real enemies remained illusive or that the guns were inevitably turned inward in coup after coup.

In Panama, which once had no army, the new National Guard (later renamed the Panamanian Defense Forces) quickly became malignant. Within barely 10 years, it overthrew the elected government and installed, first, Boris Martinez and then, after he was dispatched to pump gas in Florida, General Omar Torrijos Herrera.

In the eyes of Koster and Sanchez, Torrijos could do no right. A disorganized, womanizing drunk and coward who "ran Panama out of his hat," even his triumph — the canal treaty with the United States — was less his doing than a simple historical necessity that just happened to come to fruition while he was running things. What the authors do hold him responsible for is allowing graft and drug running while instituting the beginnings of a repressive police state, ready to be honed by his successor into an instrument of dread.

When Torrijos died in a plane crash there was no one clearly marked to suc-

ceed him. After a confused attempt at power sharing, control was seized by Noriega, the former chief of intelligence and conduit to various U.S. spy networks. Although the authors delight in repeating, and often substantiating, almost every rumor we have heard about the man, they don't add much that is new. After all, Noriega himself is only a distraction.

What really matters is how he got there and why he lasted. This is where Koster and Sanchez are particularly strong, and this is where the United States stands accused at least as a co-conspirator. As they see it, Washington has two policies: one, for public consumption, "is dedicated to transcendent values," while covert operatives peddle sleaze and the preservation of tyrants.

With regard to Noriega, the mixed messages from Washington meant that "while the visible parts of the U.S. government were trying to oust him, he was in receipt of secret U.S. documents on the subject." Straightening out the chaos finally required a heavy dose of old-fashioned imperialist intervention.

Are there lessons to the debacle of U.S. policy in Panama? Be consistent, say Sanchez and Koster, speak with one voice and stay true to principle. Are these lessons being learned? Not quite yet; just ask Saddam Hussein.

James Polk, who writes frequently about Latin America, did this for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

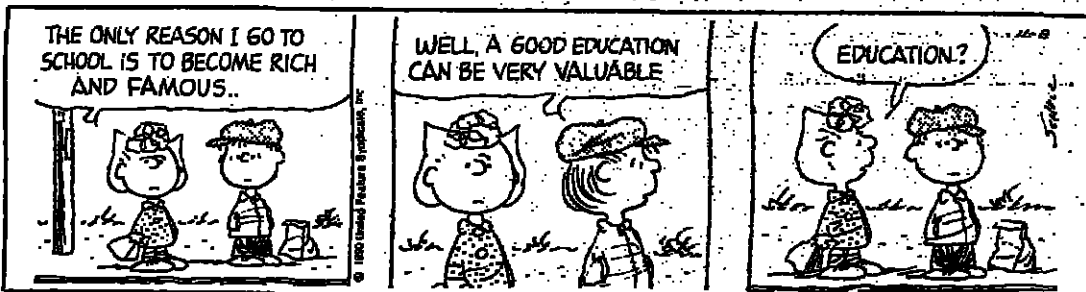
AMONG the handful of bridge players competing Sunday in the New York City Marathon was one of the world's leading bridge journalists, Phillip Alder, who is in great demand as a writer and editor and happens to live a quarter of a mile from the marathon finish line, completed the course in 3:46, quite possibly the best time among top bridge players. He was 26 minutes ahead of his wife, Judy. A week earlier, playing in the Grand National Teams, he based an interesting but less exhaustive task: How to make 10 tricks on the diagrammed deal, playing a four-spade contract, reached after a weak no-trump opening. A minor-suit lead would have been helpful, but West led a trump, won by East with the ace. The heart queen was returned, and South made the key play of ducking. He won the heart continuation with the ace and cashed three rounds of diamonds, discarding his heart loser. Next he ruffed a heart, cashed two club winners and ruffed a club. The club jack was now established, but that was unimportant. He ruffed dummy's last diamond with the spade nine, and West's K-8-7 of spades could only score one trick.

West had missed a chance to follow up his good lead effectively. At the second trick, he should have overtaken the heart queen with the king, cashed the spade king and continued with a third round. That would have forced South to do some good guessing to make a game that failed in the replay.

NORTH			
♠	Q J 10 2	♥	7 6 2
♦	Q K 9 7	♣	4 3
EAST			
♠	A	♥	Q J 8 4
♦	Q J 8 4	♣	Q 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2
SOUTH (D)			
♠	9 5 4 3	♥	Q 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2
♦	Q 10	♣	Q 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2
♠	A K J 10	♥	A

North and South were vulnerable.
The bidding:
South West North East
1 N.T. Pass 2 ♠ Pass
2 ♠ Pass 3 ♠ Pass
4 ♠ Pass
West led the spade six.

PEANUTS



BEETLE BAILEY



ANDY CAPP



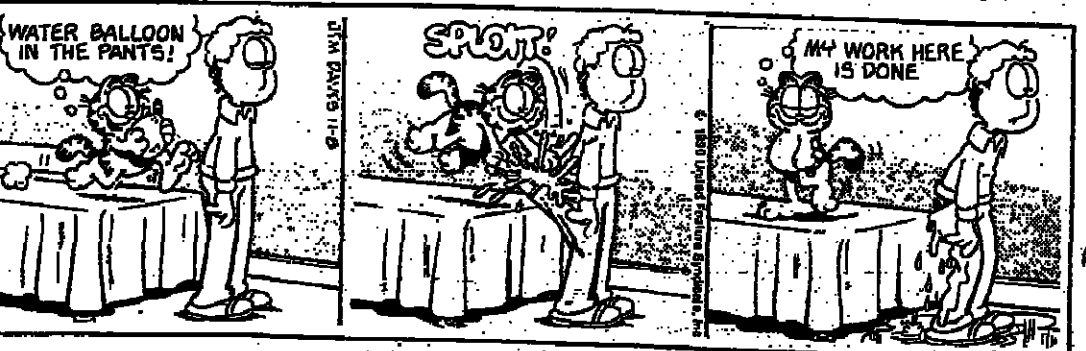
WIZARD OF ID



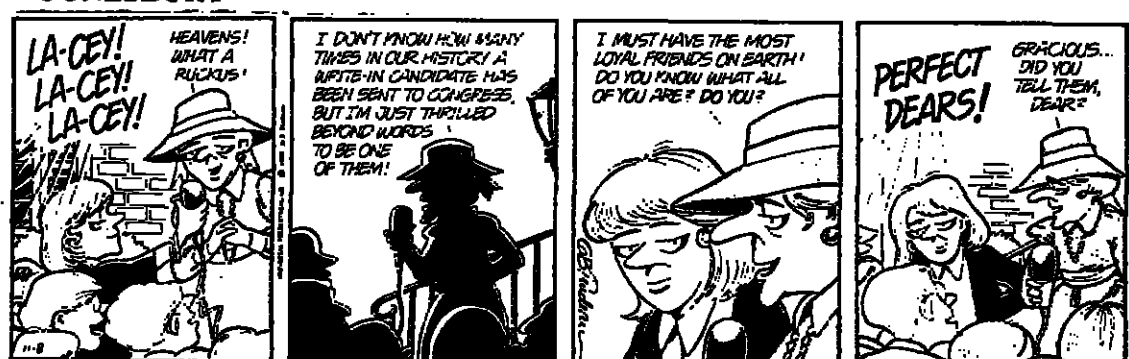
REX MORGAN



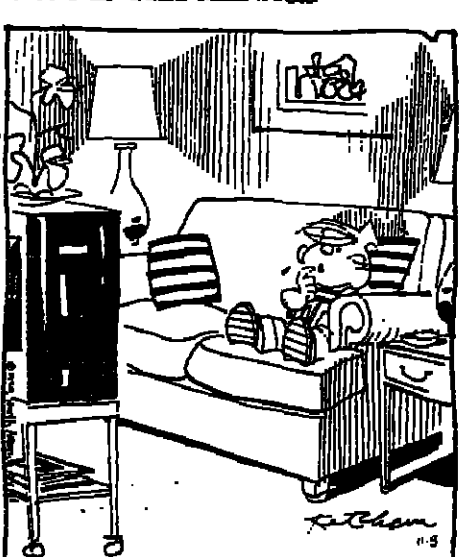
GARFIELD



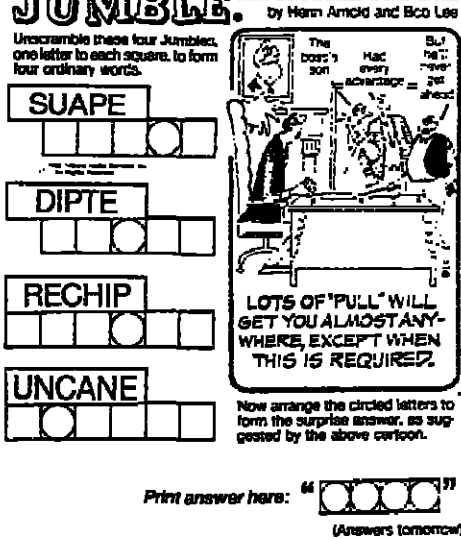
DOONESBURY



DENNIS THE MENACE



JUMBLE



BLONDIE



